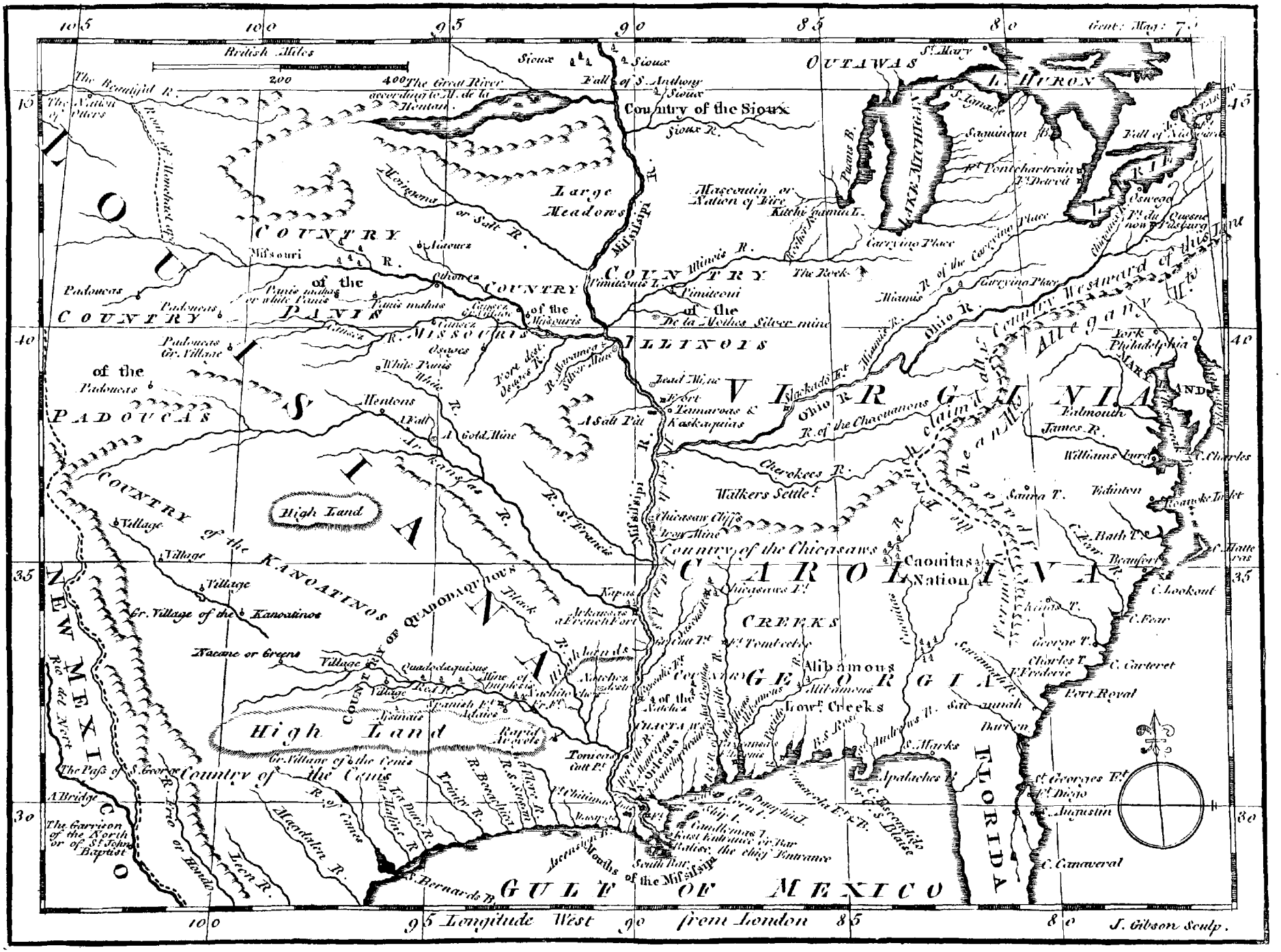
THE PRESENT STATE OF THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS ON THE MISSISIPPI


British Miles
200
400
The Great River according to M. de la Hontan
Sioux
Sioux
Fall of S. Anthony
Sioux
Country of the Sioux
Sioux R.
OUTAWAS
St Mary
L. HURON
The Beautiful R.
The Nation of Otters
Root of Monchat
Missouri R.
Padoucas
Panis mahas or white Panis
Panis mahas
Panis mahas
Canses
Canses
Missouri R.
Osages
White Panis
White R.
Mentons
Wall
A Gold Mine
Arkansas R.
Canses
Village
Village
Village
Gr. Village of the Kanoatinos
Nacane or Greens
Village
Village
Village
Gr. Village of the Cenis
The Pass of S. George
The Garrison of the North or of St John Baptist
A Bridge
Rio del Norte
Rio Bravo or Bonaventure
Leon R.
Magdalen R.
R. of Cenis
La Palme R.
La Puer R.
Trinity R.
R. Bourbon
R. St Hilary
R. St Joseph
Bay of Espiritu Santo
Ascension Mouths of the Mississipi
St Bernards B.
Missouri
Large Meadows
Mississipi R.
Wariguna or Salt R.
Maseoutin or Nation of Fire
Kitchi Gamun L.
Illinois R.
Pimiteoui
Pimiteoui
De la Motthes Silver mine
The Rock
Illinois R.
Lead Mine
Fort Tamaroas & Kaskaquias
Ohio R.
Ohio R. of the Chavanons
Arkansas R.
Mississipi R.
Chickasaw Cliffs
Iron Mine
Country of the Chickasaws
Chickasaws Fort
Kipas
Arkansas a French Fort
Black Highlands
Mississipi R.
Illinois R.
Illinois R.
Ohio R.
Ohio R. of the Cavanons
Cherokees R.
Walkers Settlement
Caouitas Nation
CREEKS
Fort Toulouse
Alibamons
Alibamons
Lower Creeks
Fort Toulouse
Fort Tombecbe
Tomeca Old Fort
Apalaches
Apalaches
Apalaches
Pensacola Fort
Fort St Blaze
Dauphin I.
Ship I.
Guadlemas I.
Coast Embarras or Bar
Balize, the chief Entrance
South West Pass of the Mississipi
GULF OF MEXICO
Lake Michigan
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Champlain
Fort Chartrain
Fort Dearoit
Oswego
Fort du Quesne now Pittsburg
Carrying Place
Carrying Place
Miamis R. of the Carrying Place
Miamis R.
Ohio R.
Allegany Mts
Claimed by the English as part of Carolina
York
Philadelphia
MARYLAND
Falmouth
James R.
Williams burg
Charles
Virginia
Tidinton
Roanoke Inlet
C. Bath
C. Lookout
C. Fear
C. Carteret
Port Royal
Savannah R.
Georgia
Charles T.
Frederic
George T.
Augustin
St Georges Fort
St Diego
C. Canaveral
FLORIDA
Bahama Channel
Country of the Cenis
Country of the Kanoatinos of Quadaquious
Country of the Padoucas of the Missouris
Country of the Padoucas of the Missouris
Country of the Padoucas of the Missouris

Captain PHILIP PITTMAN'S

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS ON THE MISSISIPPI

WITH
A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION
of that RIVER
ILLUSTRATED by PLANS AND DRAUGHTS

[London, 1770]

A Facsimile Edition

With an Introduction and Notes
by
John Francis McDermott

Memphis State University Press

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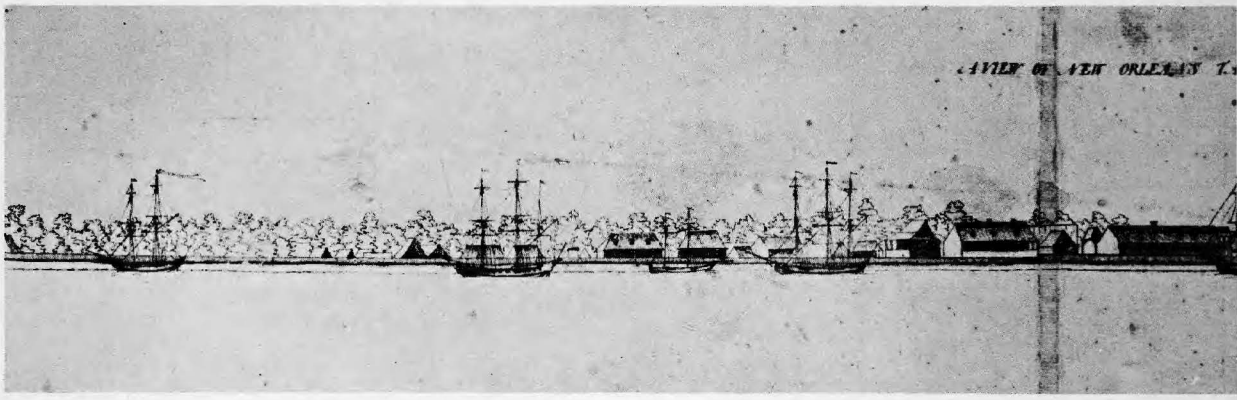
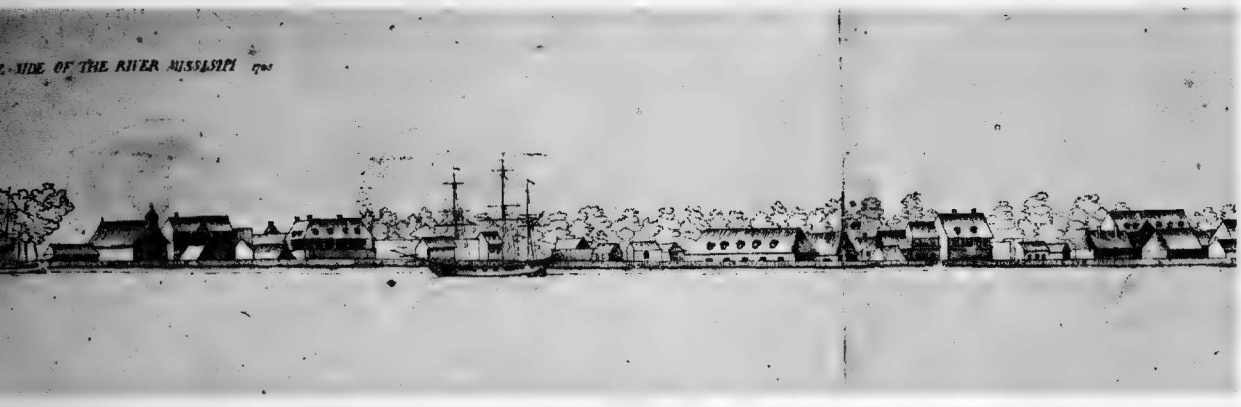
Once Again

to

S T E P H A N I E

with love


A VIEW OF NEW ORLEANS


SIDE OF THE RIVER MISSISIPI

PREFACE

Four years ago—time won't stand still for me—when the publisher was indiscreet enough to ask me to prepare a new edition of Philip Pittman's *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Missisippi,* the first book in English to describe the French towns from New Orleans to Cahokia and St. Louis, I though it would be useful, pleasant, and rather simple to do so. The original printing had long been quite a rare piece of Americana—just at this time an antiquarian dealer was listing a copy at $1500.00—and even Frank Heywood Hodder's reprint of five hundred copies in 1906 had become difficult of access. The editorial work would be quite useful to me, for I have been concerned for too long with a book about Pierre de Laclède and the founding of St. Louis in 1764. The annotating of Pittman would contribute pertinent detail. The job itself would be a simple one rather quickly (!) accomplished, for since Hodder had written his slight introduction Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter in the *Illinois Historical Collections* had published much relevant documentary material from the British Public Records Office and Carter had edited his two volumes of the correspondence of General Gage, the commander in chief in America, with his superiors in London.

My first delay was to finish a book on quite another subject. When I really had time to look into this matter (after committing myself and the Memphis State University Press to it), I found it imperative to get into the Gage Papers (not available to my predecessors) at the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. A letter quickly brought me what I asked for: a microfilm of all the correspondence between Pittman and Thomas Gage. (Interesting days those were when lieutenants wrote directly on their own to major generals who were actually Commanders-in-chief and received personal replies.)

On rough-drafting an introduction based on this material and on various documents from archives in Paris already in my files, I discovered that there had to be much more in the Gage Papers bearing on Pittman's life and activities during his five years spent largely in the Mississippi Valley. This meant that a visit to the Clements Library was essential, for no matter how thoughtful, informed, and helpful an archivist may be, only the investigator himself can determine what is pertinent to his specific job. Working thus slowly I did at least once offer to release the Press from its contract but the director insisted that he wanted me to continue.

I did go to Ann Arbor and selected a vast number of pages about Pittman, about his local commanding officer, Major Farmar, with whom he got on so badly, and many others (including French

officials and businessmen at New Orleans) with whom the young man had contact. Since he was actually an officer in Sir Jeffrey Amherst's 15th Regiment, I examined also the Amherst Papers (at the Clements) for pertinent details in Pittman's story. Eventually, on looking into the calendar of the Haldimand Papers as published in the Canadian Archives Reports, I decided I must have copies of a considerable batch of letters from the Haldimand Collection in the British Museum (now the British Library). I would have liked the excuse (who wouldn't?) of going in person to make my search, but I compromised—and saved time, no doubt—by seeking the kind help of a researcher in London to gather what I needed. And, of course, there were also papers in the Library of Congress and other sources which promised—and provided—useful details for the Pittman investigation as well for other projects more or less in hand.

Thus the simple, brief introduction that I had envisioned for Pittman and his valuable though not extended view of *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Missisippi* turned into a lengthy account of his American years.

In the preparation of this edition I have incurred many debts. First of all, I could have done little reconstructing of Pittman's story without access to the Amherst and Gage Papers in the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan. My deepest thanks must go to Howard H. Peckham, its director, and, I am happy to think, an old friend as well as a notable scholar. Mrs. Agnes A. Pope was most kind in helping with arrangements for our visit to the library and introducing me to those I needed most to know. John C. Dann, curator of manuscripts, and Douglas W. Marshall, curator of maps, not merely gave me what I asked for but had many useful suggestions to offer, as model curators do.

Barry C. Johnson of the British Museum Map Room (and the London Westerners) was kind enough to give me the name of Lieutenant Colonel C. E. Casolani (ret'd), who searched the Haldimand Papers for me and visited the Public Record Office, just because he liked to do such things. I am, of course, grateful to be allowed to use materials from these sources. Mrs. Peggy Richards, Director of the Louisiana State Museum at New Orleans, has been kind enough to permit me to publish the 1765 view of the waterfront at New Orleans. Professor John Shy of the Department of History at the University of Michigan took time to reply to some of my inquiries. Some of my documents came from the Archives Nationales in Paris; some from the Archivo Historico Nacional of Madrid; some from the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library manuscripts division. The Library of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia and the John Carter Brown University were helpful. As so often before I could not get on without

the generous access to the resources of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, the Mercantile Library of St. Louis, and Olin Library at Washington University. To my own Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville I am doubly indebted for the services of Lovejoy Library and for its continuous support of my research. It should be obvious that I have had a director-editor forebearing beyond all normal limits.

But above and beyond all these my greatest debt and my deepest satisfaction in acknowledging it is to my helpmate in all work, Mary Stephanie McDermott, whom I have before this described as my severest friend and best critic.

John Francis McDermott
Adjunct Research Professor
Southern Illinois University
at Edwardsville.

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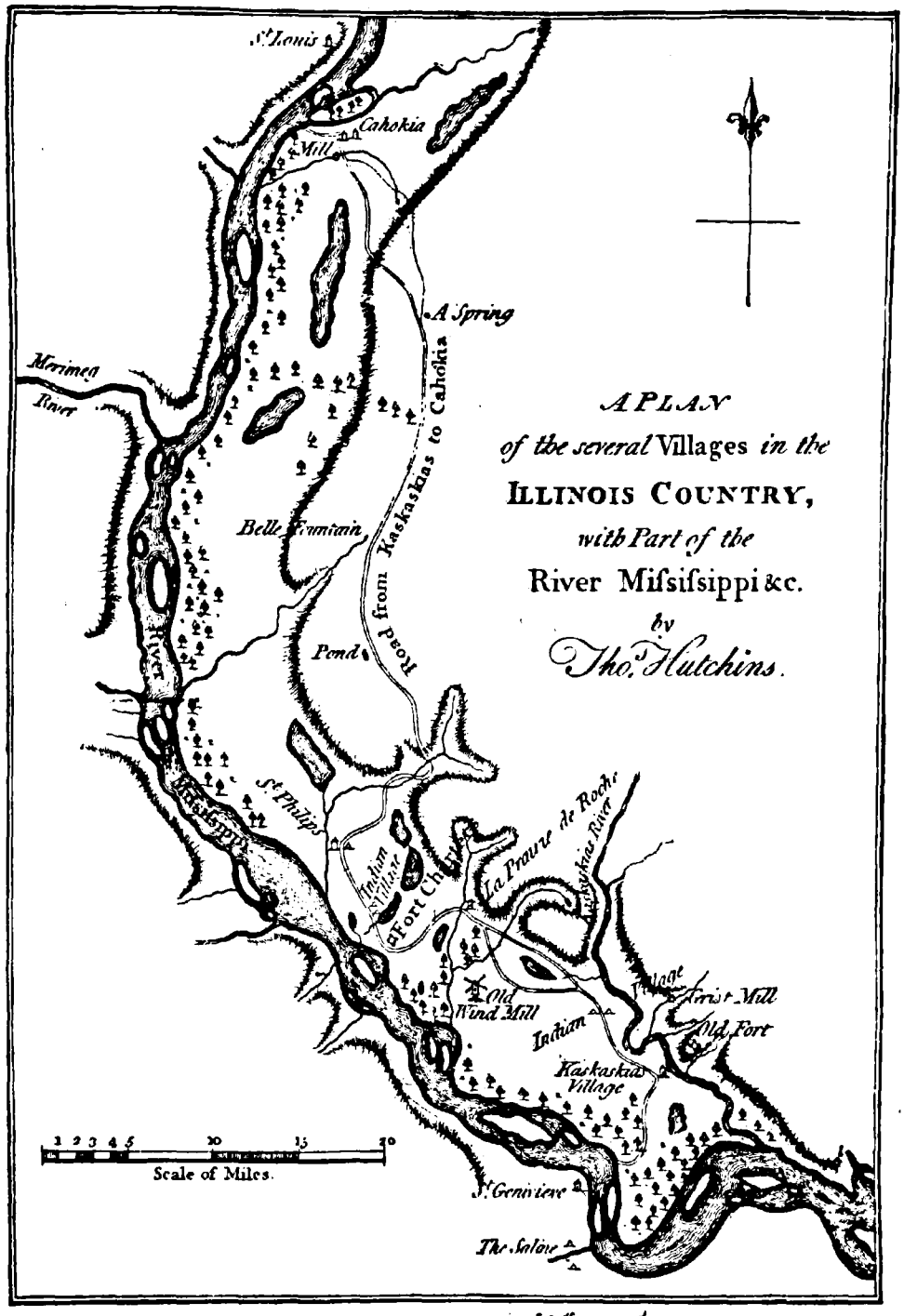

London Published according to Act of Parliament Novemb.r 5.th 1778 by Tho.s Hutchins.

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Chronological Checklist
of
Maps and Plans
of the
Floridas and the Mississippi River
prepared by
Philip Pittman,
1763-1768

[A number of Pittman's manuscript maps sent to General Gage are preserved in the Gage Papers and have been recorded by Christian Brun in Manuscript Maps in the William L. Clements Library (1959). The William Brasier copies of Pittman reported by Brun are in the Shelburne Papers in the Clements Library. The list that follows is compiled from Pittman's correspondence with Gage.

An interesting question arises: where are Pittman's originals from which he made the copies for Gage? It is clear that Pittman retained them all, for on various occasions (i.e., 8 and 27 March 1765, 17 December 1765, 10 February 1767) he referred to copying them for the general. The plans published in 1770 must have been engraved from these originals carried home to England in 1768. Did Pittman take these with him to India in 1771 or can they still exist in some unknown spot in England?]

1. A Sketch of the River Missisippi from New Orleans to the Rock of Davion. By Ph: Pittman. No. 1 Copy W. Brasier. Scale; 1 inch to 1 French league. Brun no. 689. 141 1/2 x 36 inches. Location of Gage copy unknown.

   It may be presumed that Pittman was working on this chart during the first attempt to ascend the Mississippi and that it should therefore be dated 1764. Note at the top of the map (near the Rock of Davion): "English Convoy attack'd 20th March 1764."

2. A Draught of the Passage from Lake Pontchartrin to the River Missisippi. By Ph: Pittman lieut: 15th Regt assistt engr. Scale: 1 inch to 1 league. Brun no. 673. 22 1/4 x 8 1/2 inches. Published 1770: "Draught of the R. Ibberville Being a short communication from the Sea to the first of the English Settlements on the Missisippi." Brun no. 674 entitled "A Draught of Massiac Lake, Maurepas, part of the River Amitt and the River Ibberville"—"Copy from Lieut Ph: Pittman by Wm Brasier" is the same map with some slight differences in notations.

This map, with numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10 that follow, was sent to Gage on 27 March 1765 and receipt was acknowledged by him on 17 June 1765. Pittman had promised some of the plans in a letter (now missing) on 11 November 1764 (see Gage's response, 19 February 1765). Pittman again referred to Gage's receipt of this lot in his letter of 10 February 1767. The copies sent to Gage were apparently completed in New Orleans in March, 1765.

3. A Survey of the Ibberville "on a scale of 200 feet to an Inch [which] shows all the ground clear'd, from the time Captain Lieut Campbell took the direction of the Kings works there, 'till the twentieth of February [1765], the day I made the survey. the Ibberville at that time was much in the same condition quite to Anatamaha, as what is represented in that plan [No. 4] which may serve as a specimen for the whole."

   Location unknown.

4. A Plan of the Ibberville from the Missisippi to Anatamaha. Survey'd and drawn by Ph: Pittman lieut of 15th Regt asst engr. Scale 1 inch to 2000 feet. Brun no. 682. 9 3/8 x 23 3/4 inches. "Shows all that part of the river, on which I propose a road to be made in the description." Brun no. 681 is a copy by William Brasier 10 x 23 1/2.

   Pittman had set out to commence the survey of the Iberville and the lakes on 9 January 1765 (Pittman to Gage, 8 January 1765).

5. A Plan of New Orleans. Drawn by Ph: Pittman Lieut 15th Regt Engineer at Mobile. Scale: 1 inch to 50 toises. Brun no. 677. 11 1/4 x 16 3/4 inches (overall: 11 1/4 x 22 1/2 inches). Published 1770: "Plan of New Orleans. N.B. No Plan yet Published like this, being its Present State." The printed plan lists twelve references; the manuscript map thirty-eight. The *toise,* 6 French feet, equalled 6.4 English feet.

6. A Draught of the Bay of Pansacola. Drawn by Ph: Pittman engineer at Mobile. Scale 1 inch to 1 mile. Brun. no. 644. 16 x 22 1/2 inches.

7. A Draught of Ship & Catt Islands and the Opposite Coast. Drawn by Ph: Pittman lieut 15th Regt engineer at Mobile. Scale: 1 inch to 1 league. Brun no. 669. 15 x 19 1/4 inches. In his letter of 27 March 1765 Pittman had called this "A Draught of the Roadstead of Ship Island, and the opposite coast."

8. A Draught of the Barr off the Bay of Mobille & Dauphine Island. By Ph: Pittman lieut 15th Regt & engineer at Mobille. Scale: 1 inch to 1 mile. Brun no. 665. 11 5/8 x 15 1/8 inches.

9. "A general draught of this country from the different surveys &c of several French officers, and Engineers. which I have gott togeather; it extends East and West from the Fort of the

Alibamons to Nactitoches and North and South from the Balize to the River Margott, including the situation of every village of the Chactaw Nation and Chickashaw country."

So described in Pittman to Gage, 27 March 1765. "A Copy of this I have begun for You, but the sudden departure of the Vessel I send this letter by will not allow me to finish it [in] time enough. I therefore shall profitt by the next opportunity." On 22 June 1765 from the Camp opposite New Orleans Pittman enclosed with a letter to Gage "a General Draught of what the French call'd (before the Peace) Louissianne." He added, "I have been at great pains in compiling it, and flatter myself it is more correct than any thing hitherto done, as it is taken from the papers of different Engineers, who were sent at several times to examine the places laid down on it, the coast is mostly from my own observation." This map apparently never reached General Gage, for on 10 February 1767 Pittman noted that "Your Excelly has signified to me the receipt of all my Draughts except one of Louisianne including West Florida, which I sent you in the Month of June 1765."

Location unknown.

The French engineers to whom Pittman was indebted undoubtedly included those named by Antoine-Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville in preparing his *Carte Composée des Differents ouvrages de Messieurs les Ingenieurs qui ont été d Louisiane*, dated 1763 (Brun no. 686), copies of whose work would have been available in New Orleans. No accession information is given for the Clements Library map. That in the *Archives Hydrographiques* (Paris) is dated 1 mars 1763. Whether Pittman had access to the Marigny de Mandeville map is unknown.

10. A Plan of Point Ibberville. Survey'd and Drawn by Ph: Pittman lieut 15th Regt assist engr. Scale: 1 inch to 200 yards. 12 1/2 x 10 3/8 inches (overall: 12 1/2 x 18 5/8). Insets: Section 1st: Section 2d: Section 3d: Scale 1 inch to 40 feet. In strip 12 1/2 x 4 inches. Brun no. 679. Note on the manuscript map: "This plan was Survey'd on the 20th and 21st of Feby [1765] and represents exactly the condition of the place at that time." See Pittman to Gage 8 March and 27 March 1765.

    Brun no. 680 is duplicate of no. 679 differing only in some lettered references and a few other details.

    Brun no. 678 is a copy by William Brasier.

11. A plan of Mobile. Scale: 1 inch to 400 feet. Published 1770. Location of Gage copy unknown.

12. A Plan of the Fort, and Country of Natches. Taken in August 1765 (Pittman to Gage, Natches, 17 August 1765), sent to Gage, 17

December 1765, and receipt acknowledged by Gage, 7 July 1766. Published 1770: "Plan of Fort Rosalia." Location of Gage copy unknown.

13. Plan of Fort Cavendish [Chartres]. "Copy'd from a french Plan that I got from an Engr at N. Orleans. it is not so correct as any thing I should chuse to present to Your Excelly. however I thought it better to send it as it is, that you may have an Idea of it as soon as possible, than to defer it till the Spring, as till then the weather is too cold for me to begin a work of this sort" (Pittman to Gage, Fort Cavendish, 17 December 1765—receipt acknowledged by Gage, 7 July 1766). Location of Gage copy unknown.

14. A Draught of the River Missisippi from the Balise to Fort Cavendish Taken in the Months of June, July, August, September, October and November on a Passage to the Illinois with His Majesty's Thirty Fourth Regiment in the year 1765. By Ph: Pittman lieutenant of the 15th Regt. Scale: 1 inch to 3 leagues. Brun no. 687. 21 1/2 x 59 1/2 inches.

    On 17 December1765 Pittman wrote to Gage: "I have taken a Draught of the Missisippi as far as this place on a Scale of one League to an inch which I shall forward to You as soon as I can get it join'd and copy'd." On 24 February 1766: "The Draught of the Missisippi from the Balise I purpose carrying on as far as the Missoury, and shall forward it to you as soon as compleated." The survey of the Mississippi to the Missouri apparently was not made. The map was forwarded to Gage in May 1766. On 10 February 1767 Pittman had not yet had word that it had reached New York; he then proposed that if it had not arrived he would copy it again.

    Published 1770: "A Draught of the River Missisippi from the Balise up to Fort Chartres" (in three sections).

    Although no acknowledgment of indebtedness was made (as in No. 9 above), Pittman certainly would have made use of available French maps. There is a close likeness between the courses laid down on his chart and those of Marigny de Mandeville. Place names are all in his inimitable French. To be considered also is the interesting coincidence of another map avowedly prepared on this same voyage to the Illinois: *Course of the River Missisipi from the Balise to Fort Chartres: Taken on an Expedition to the Illinois, in the latter end of the Year 1765. By Lieut Ross of the 34th Regiment: Improved from the Surveys of that River made by the French*, London, 1 June 1775. This map, too, is close to that of Marigny de Mandeville. Of Ross's career little is known. I have thus far not come on any reference to his charting of the river during the 1765 convoy.

15. Plan of Fort Cavendish [Chartres]. On 24 February 1766 Pittman mentioned to Gage "the plan of Fort Cavendish which I am now about." This was forwarded to New York three months later, but on 10 February 1767 Pittman wrote to Gage asking whether "the plan of Fort Chartres which I sent in May 1766" had been received. Location unknown.
16. Copys of Sections and Elevations of Fort Chartres. Sent to Gage 24 November 1766. Location unknown.
17. A Plan of Cascasqias with the design of an Enceinte. Survey'd and Drawn by Ph: Pittman lieutt 15th Regt, Asst Engt. Scale: 1 inch to 400 feet. Brun no. 737. 11 3/8 x 15 5/8 (overall: 11 3/8 x 19 5/8). Sent to Gage 20 November 1766.

    Published 1770: A Plan of Cascaskies. Some slight differences in details.
18. Plan of a new fort at the Illinois. Proposed by Captain Harry Gordon to replace Fort Chartres when it was no longer tenable. Plan sent to Gage by Pittman from Pensacola 21 April 1767 and referred to by Gage (to Pittman), 31 May 1767. General Haldimand, who had seen the plan, wrote to Gage (Pensacola, 31 [*sic*] April 1767), that Pittman was sending the plan of a fort that would cost very much and would be difficult to build with the few people available in the Illinois. Location unknown.
19. "A General Sketch of the [Apalachy] Country as far as I saw it." accompanying Pittman's "Discription of the Face of the Country" sent by Haldimand to Gage, Pensacola, 5 August 1767 (see also Haldimand's letter, same date). Location unknown.
20. Plan of Fort St. Marc. Accompanied Pittman's written report to Haldimand: "A Discription of the Fort at Appalachy & the Look-out Tower" (Haldimand to Gage, Pensacola, 5 August 1767). Location unknown.
21. A Sketch of the Entrance from the Sea to Apalachy. and a Part of the Environs Take by George Gould [Gauld] esqr Surveyor of the Coast, and Lieutenant Philip Pittman assistt engineer. Scale: i inch to 2 miles. Brun no. 660. 32 x 17 3/4 inches.

    Was this a finished, joint work based on Pittman's two field sketches and on Gauld's?
22. Plan of the River from Mobile to Fort Tombecbé. Detailed instructions for making this plan were addressed to Pittman by Haldimand on 16 November 1767. On 28 February 1768 Haldimand wrote to Gage that "Le Lt Pittman a fait une Carte de la Riviére, qui me paroit executée avec soin & que je vous feray parvenir, Monsieur, a la premiere Occasion." Location unknown.

INTRODUCTION

I

On 20 October 1763, Major Robert Farmar with the 22nd and 34th Regiments of His Britannic Majesty's Foot took possession of Mobile and the province of West Florida in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 10 February 1763. Soon to be attached to his command was Philip Pittman, a lieutenant in the 15th Regiment, who was to win a place in the history of the Mississippi Valley by the publication in London, seven years later, of a report on *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi; with a Geographical Description of that River, Illustrated by Plans and Draughts*. His observations of the French establishments, based on five years of service in West Florida and the Mississippi Valley, was the first such account to be published in English, and, indeed, the best in any language to that date.

Until Pittman's book appeared, English-reading people had to depend for specific information principally, as he pointed out in his preface, on Louis Hennepin who had been a companion of Robert Cavalier de La Salle in the Illinois Country in 1680; on Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix who made an official tour down the Mississippi from the mouth of the Wisconsin to New Orleans in 1721-1722; and on Antoine Simor Le Page du Pratz whose history of Louisiana closed with his return to France in the 1730s. The English edition of Hennepin had been printed in 1698, the diary of Charlevoix (published in Paris in 1744) became available in translation in 1761, the memoir of Le Page du Pratz (five years after its publication) appeared in English in 1763, freshened up with a new title to attract British readers: *The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina: containing a Description of the Countries that lye on both Sides of the River Missisipi: with an Account of the Settlements, Inhabitants, Soil, Climate, and Products*. These were valuable books with extended descriptions of the land, with many details of natural history and of the customs of the Indians, and with relations of some of the episodes of French activity in the earlier decades of the century. But by Pittman's time they were far from up-to-date and had almost nothing to offer by way of contemporary information. Other works remaining in French such as the 1753 version of Dumont de Montigny's *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane* carried the history of Louisiana no further than 1740. Even Jean Bernard Bossu's *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, published in 1768, had little to contribute by way of description of the "present state" of the actual settlements.

The English press to 1770 had produced nothing at all worth

consulting. Daniel Coxe's *A Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spanish Call'd Florida, and by the French La Louisiane. As also of the great and famous River Meschacebe or Missisipi . . .*, published in 1722, had been a promotion pamphlet compiled by a man who had never seen the lands he wrote about. The substantial *Account of the European Settlements in America*, published anonymously in two volumes in London in 1762, and commonly credited to Edmund Burke, devoted only fourteen pages (II, 33-47) to Louisiana and to "the French policy with regards to their colonies," a passage that did not contain a single concrete detail about that colony.[1]

The acquisition of the vast area between the Appalachians and the Mississippi by the treaty of 1763 brought forth in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of London in June and August of that year (pp. 283-287, 378-383) a survey of Louisiana and its commerce, but this was no more than a condensed version (without acknowledgment) of the introduction to the just published English edition of Le Page du Pratz. Robert Rogers of the Rangers, then enjoying some fame for his share in the capture of Detroit, published in London two years later a *Concise Account of North America: containing a Description . . . including . . . the Interior, or Westerly Parts of that Country, upon the Rivers, St. Lawrence, the Mississipi. . . .*, but the book is without value for the Mississippi Valley since its author had not seen any part of it nor had he gathered any useful information from others.

Philip Pittman's book, off the press late in 1770, for the first time offered readers a specific and concrete, first-hand report on the Balize, New Orleans, and the villages of the Mississippi Valley including the newest settlement, St. Louis, founded in 1764, which he visited twice in 1766. "Originally wrote at the request, and for the perusal only, of the secretary of state for the colonies [Lord Hillsborough]," it had been put together after Pittman's return to England at the close of 1768 from the copies he had retained of his reports to Major General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief for North America, under whose authority and encouragement he had worked.

The importance of his book rests on Pittman's opportunities to observe the French settlements over years of duty and travel as acting engineer. He was occasionally prejudiced against the French officials with whom he was in contact. He was not always fully informed concerning matters about which he was writing. In a normally human fashion he was annoyed when he could not proceed as he wished, he was suspicious of motives in situations he did not fully understand, and he was ready to credit rumors which cannot be substantiated today. But he was a participant in the events of these five years in Louisiana, he did collect facts about places of interest, and he did report them succinctly. We could wish that he had not

endeavoured to be "as concise" as the occasion seemed to him to demand, that he had been "much more diffuse on subjects in which so much matter is contained," but we remain grateful for his account of the settlements on the Mississippi and the plans he took of some of them. Captain Pittman's book is one of permanent worth in Mississippi Valley history.

II

Of Philip Pittman's life before he came to America nothing has been discovered. In a letter to Major General Thomas Gage, 22 July 1765, he stated that he had been in America "ever since the year 1758." Records show him an ensign in the 48th Regiment of Foot on 13 July 1760 and on 14 September of that year an ensign in the 15th Foot (Colonel Jeffery Amherst's East Yorkshires). Though no evidence has been found that he was trained as an engineer, in 1761 he surveyed an area on the south shore of the St. Lawrence from St. Antoine to St. Nicholas and on the north shore from Montmorency to Cape Tourment, which formed the basis for an extant map.[2]

The 15th sailed from New York for the Barbadoes in October 1761. In the capture of Martinique and Havana in 1762 he served as an assistant engineer and was promoted to lieutenant 28 July 1762. The regiment returnd to New York in June 1763 and proceeded thence to Canada. Since his name is absent from the regimental monthly return from 10 August of this year until 1768, Pittman probably remained in New York with James Robertson, lieutenant colonel of the 15th and Deputy Quartermaster General to Sir Jeffery Amherst, then Commanding General in North America. Late in August Robertson was sent to the Floridas to oversee the occupation of that newly acquired territory and apparently took the young man with him, for when the colonel was preparing to leave St. Augustine for Pensacola, he reported to Amherst that Pittman was making sketches of that place and was charting the bar.[3]

Of particular concern to the commander-in-chief was the new Mississippi frontier. Colonel Robertson was directed to inquire "regarding the State of that Country . . . proceeding up the River as far as you may think necessary, to procure all the Intelligence you can." It was a region almost entirely unknown to Amherst: "I believe," he wrote, "the Chief Posts the French had on the lower part of the Mississippi were (excepting New Orleans) on the left of the River as you go up; It will however be necessary that you get the best Information you can in regard to the Posts below; and I inclose you a description of the principal Fort the French had, on the right of the River, & on the upper part, as far as the Limits of Canada, with the dependent posts, as I have received it from a Frenchman, who seems to have been pretty well acquainted with that Country, and as it

appears by this Account, that the French had generally Four or Five Companys, under the Command of a Major to Garrison those Posts; I would have you . . . detach four or five Companys under the Command of a proper Officer to garrison the several Posts on the upper part of the Mississippi, the Commanding Officer fixing his Quarters at *Fort de Chartres*, the principal Post; and taking care to make his reports regularly to the Officer Commanding the Troops in *Louisianne* . . . "[4]

For an ambitious young officer eager to do something special in "the Service of the Publick" that could bring prominence and promotion Pittman had indeed been lucky to win the attention of his colonel through his skill in surveying and sketching. Robertson, with Pittman in his train, on leaving St. Augustine late in September, was delayed at Providence in the Bahamas by adverse winds until 22 October. They arrived at Pensacola on 5 November and departed the next day for Mobile, where on 9 November they found that Major Robert Farmar with the 22nd and 34th Regiments had taken possession on 20 October. The lieutenant had been "pitched upon" by Robertson "as a proper person to make the . . . Attempt of going to the Illinois, by Way of the Mississippi." He was to attend Major Arthur Loftus of the 22nd Regiment "as an Engineer" with instructions to make "Observations on the Countries" he would pass through and "take such Sketches & Plans of the Country & Forts" as he should judge "useful to be known" to the commanding general. The matter was all settled by 13 December, for on that day Pittman, at Mobile, wrote to Sir Jeffery Amherst raising the question of extra pay for special duty: "I take the liberty of begging you will be pleased to order what you shall think proper to appoint me for this service"—whatever was to be granted was to be sent to Colonel Robertson in his name.[5] Pittman could now look forward eagerly to his special mission.

III

Moves toward the occupation of the Illinois had been under way for six weeks before Robertson arrived at Mobile. As soon as he reached Pensacola on 20 September, Major Farmar sent Captain John Lind to New Orleans to make initial inquiries about the occupation of Mobile and the ascent of troops to the Illinois.

In five days of talks with Governor Louis Billouart de Kerlérec and Jean-Jacques-Blaise d'Abbadie, soon to take over as Director General of Louisiana, the British officer was told that Farmar could take possession whenever he wished, but was advised that it would be better to hold back the landing of troops at Mobile until D'Abbadie arrived there. Months earlier a call had been sent out to the Indian

nations for a grand council to be held at the beginning of November. "It is of the utmost consequence for the reciprocal tranquility of the Subjects of the two Monarchs . . . that the two chiefs, English and French, arrive at the same time, [that] the Nations may perceive of themselves, all the union, and good understanding that . . . Unites us," Kerlérec urged in a letter of 2 October which Lind carried back to his superior, adding that he thought the English commander "would not do a miss in putting some little confidence in a Governor who has Governed this Colony eleven years" and consequently had had experience in handling Indians.

In response to Lind's inquiry about the best time to proceed to Illinois, Kerlérec advised leaving New Orleans "before the 15th January next, and as your Route cannot be less than two months and a half, you will arrive by the waters being then high at Illinois about the beginning of April, this is (Sir) the only time to go from hence." Arrangements should immediately be concerted with D'Abbadie "that no obstackle may arrise that may hinder" departure of the troops.[6]

In the meantime Farmar had moved on from Pensacola by water and reached the bar at Mobile Bay on 9 October, where Lind met him on the 14th. Suspicious of French motives and eager to establish British authority, Major Farmar brushed aside the suggestions from New Orleans, visited Lieutenant Governor Pierre-Nicolas DeVelle at Mobile by invitation, and insisted on landing his troops without further delay. Immediately on learning of this D'Abbadie left New Orleans for Mobile where the complications of the transfer were to keep him for two months.

Relations between the English and the French officials were strained from the beginning. Farmar insisted that the terms of the treaty meant that every item of French national property was to be delivered to the British. D'Abbadie held otherwise. The treaty had specified that the inhabitants should have eighteen months to decide whether they would accept English citizenship or withdraw to French territory, but the English had not taken possession until more than four months after the date fixed and Farmar was willing to allow the settlers only ten or eleven months to make up their minds. D'Abbadie thought it not wise to place English garrisons in outlying forts until the Indians had been properly prepared for the change of masters. Farmar on 6 November sent a detachment to occupy the fort at Tom-bec-be. On every point the English commandant proved assertive and truculent. The matter came to a head apparently when Farmar pointed out bluntly to D'Abbadie in a letter on 9 November that he had no authority "to Act here in a publick Character."[7]

It was possibly at this point that D'Abbadie considered returning abruptly to New Orleans.[8] Fortunately Colonel Robertson arrived at Mobile on the 9th and relations between the parties improved. The

colonel was certainly "not well pleased" to find five thousand Indians encamped within "half gun shot" of the fort. But this awkward situation, he discovered, had developed from the French system of managing the Indians. "It seems that the French," he wrote to General Amherst, "have been subject to pay a fixd tribute in goods to the Indians in their interest, but the English being masters of the great Lake, they had not been able to fulfill their engagement." Supplies ordered from France by Kerlérec had at last arrived four months before and the Chactaws had been told to gather in November to receive the four years' presents that were due to them. D'Abbadie and his commandant of troops, Charles Philippe Aubry, had come to deliver the presents and had composed a harangue explaining the giving up of the country to the English and professing "an entire friendship with us."

At first, Robertson thought this was all "a piece of French policy" of which to be suspicious, but in a few days he was convinced that "Monsr Abadie is in earnest when he assures me that he thinks it the French and English interest to keep the Savages quiet and that there is nothing in his power that he will not do to get us peaceable possession of the Country." From "Our traders" who had come down with the Indians, the colonel had been assured that the savages "had resolved before their arrival here, to Kill the English and not to hear their talk." But, he reported to Amherst, the Indians "principally by Monsr Abadie's persuasion and presents, have declared that they will consider themselves as Children of the King of England and that they will receive their brothers the English into all the Forts."[9]

Robertson reported also on the possibility of getting troops to the Illinois. "The posts on the Misissipi can be got at in spite of the Indians," he wrote back to headquarters, "and to prevent any accident, Monsr Abadie put in Major Loftus's hands a letter desiring that the militia of Illinois may meet him at the junction of the Ohio to advertise and assist him in case the Indians shoud offer an opposition there, which Monsr D'Abadie says is the only place where they coud do it to any effect." One practical difficulty was apparent: "the vessels with me can go no higher than New Orleans . . . the 450 leagues which remains must be performed in new boats. None of these can be got here [at Mobile], and it is doubtfull if many can be had at N. Orleans, those used for this service being now at Illinois." However, to provide "every thing for the transportation of the troops from thence" Robertson set out for New Orleans on the day he wrote to Amherst. "Monsr D'Abadie writes & Monsr Daubray goes with us to get all the assistance for us possible."[10] Although they did not agree on every point, relations between D'Abbadie and Robertson were amiable: the colonel, the French governor declared to his Minister, was as *affable et conciliant* as Major Farmar was *dur Et difficultueux*.

The first thought of the Colonial Office and of North American Headquarters for the movement of troops northward had been to use as a waterway from the Gulf Lake Pontchartrain, Lake Maurepas, and the Iberville River, which on the map provided easy access to the Mississippi, thus bypassing New Orleans and avoiding any possible interference by the French at any time. Colonel Robertson soon discovered—probably on D'Abbadie's information—that the Iberville was "stop'd by trees & rubbish so as to be unpassable even by Canoes." The English officer then asked if he might bring the troops from Lake Pontchartrain through New Orleans to embark for the upper country—an arrangement that would at least avoid the tedious hundred-mile journey from the Balise to the colonial capital. But D'Abbadie refused this permission, his decision obviously based upon the impracticality of the plan. The Bayou St. Jean would certainly have been a shortcut, but at the best of times it was usable only by small canoes and the transport of a regiment with its equipment (including artillery) and its luggage over the land passage from the head of the Bayou to the city would have been a far greater undertaking than the map seemed to indicate.[11] The practical solution was to bring the troops up the Mississippi from its mouth and to encamp them just above New Orleans until they could be transferred to the convoy which would carry them to their destination.

On 2 January 1764 the 22nd Regiment at Mobile began "to Embark on board two small Transports" and by the 7th "all the Men, Artilery, Stores, and Baggage were on board." The troubles that were to beset this expeditionary force were about to begin. "The Northerly winds having blown for some days, which forces the water out of the Bay, one of the Transports was aground, however by lightening of her in putting the Men, Stores, and Baggage on board of a Victualling Ship, and some Boats, she was got off, and on the 12th proceeded for the Mouth of the Missisippi." The convoy arrived in sight of the Balise the next day but a gale of winds drove the ships off. It was not until a week later that the first of the vessels reached the Mississippi. In the meantime Captain Lieutenant James Campbell of the 34th had been sent by Farmar (via Lake Pontchartrain and the Bayou) to see to the provisioning and general supply of the boats intended for the Illinois. Arriving at New Orleans on the 18th, two days later with D'Abbadie's permission he went down to the Balise for news of the regiment. There he found that the vessel carrying Major Loftus had arrived and on the 23rd brought him and several other officers to New Orleans. On the 24th Loftus and Lieutenant Pittman were invited to dinner with D'Abbadie, after which Captain Aubry in the Governor's office translated letters just received from Pierre-Joseph Neyon de Villiers describing the tense Indian situation at the Illinois.[12]

To the annoyance of Loftus, notwithstanding "the many

delays . . . mett with" en route not one of the boats arranged for by Colonel Robertson was ready. Gilbert Antoine Maxent, the contractor, laid his failure to the "badness of the weather." Governor D'Abbadie, however, "very civily . . . Order'd the Kings Carpenters to work on our Boats" and when his own men arrived, Loftus put all the carpenters of the regiment onto the job. But it was not until the 26th that preparations were at last completed. To the lading the Major added some presents for the Indians when D'Abbadie assured him that without such gifts for the savages they would not get up the river. During these weeks at New Orleans strict discipline was maintained to the entire satisfaction of the French governor. Nevertheless thirty men deserted, for the soldiers were not eager to go to the "desolate country of the Illinois" (as Loftus himself described it in a letter to Gage), to endure the weary labor of rowing heavily laden boats hundreds of miles against the current, or to face the hazards of Indian hostility on the way there.[13]

At last, on 27 February the convoy, composed of "ten boats, two pirogues, four [fourteen?] officers, three hundred and twenty soldiers, thirty women, and seventeen children," making in all "three hundred and eighty-one" persons, left New Orleans with a French half-pay officer assigned by D'Abbadie as interpreter to accompany it as far as Pointe Coupée. In New Orleans, the governor noted in his Journal that day, there was much speculation whether the expedition would actually reach the Illinois in view of the difficulties of the route, of the few precautions that had been taken, and the expected opposition by the savages.[14]

The boats arrived at the fort at Point Coupée, the last French settlement in lower Louisiana, on 13 March and left on the 15th (by which time thirty-seven more men had deserted and one died). The French officer, Lieutenant Baurans, now turned back, warning Loftus to be constantly on guard against attack by Indians. The convoy continued another twenty-four leagues to Roche à Davion, where on the 20th savages on both sides of the river opened fire on the leading boats, killing six men and wounding four. Loftus did not attempt to force his way past the attackers but turned back to New Orleans, arriving there on 26 March.[15]

According to the French report the attackers had numbered no more than thirty men of the Otogoula, Choctaw, Avoyell, and Tunica tribes. "A few shots from swivel guns," the writer asserted, "and small arms fired from the canoes would have overawed the Indians. We have had many examples of French convoys which have suffered severer attacks and have gone on in spite of them." In his opinion the English should have pushed on and established themselves at Natchez, where they could have seen Indian chiefs "and made some friendly parties, but Commandant Loftus would have needed for that purpose more knowledge of their government than he had, and also a

character more pliant than his." If this had not been possible, he "could have drifted down a few leagues and landed on the English possessions above the river Iberville." Then he "could have sent a boat to Mr D'Abbadie, and he would have tried new methods of warding off the Indians. Many officers proposed this last plan to M. Loftus, but he did not see fit to undertake it."[16]

Major Loftus reported this engagement to General Gage in much greater detail. Having had far less experience with the Indians, he had reacted with great caution.

"The Savages having been Determined to oppose us, posted themselfs at an Advantageous place called the Roche D'Avion, on the East side of the River, about seventy Leagues from Orleans, and at a convenient point on the West side; we had Certain intelligence several days before, of our being attacked at that place, or near it; So that you may imagine, we took all the care we could, both on shore, & in our boats, The only precaution we could take in the Boats, was keeping them one a head of the Other, as close as they Conveniently could, and to have their Arms ready beside them, while They rowed; As we had not men enough to supply the oars, it made it Very fatiguing to them; this was occasioned by the great Desertion we had, and Death and Sickness; The Twentieth of March, about seven in the morning, the two light boats which I always sent a head to look out, were attacked on the west side, all our boats being on the same side, I had given orders to the boats in case any of them were attacked, to Cross over to the other side; but these two boats were entirely disabled the first Fire, for out of fifteen men that was in both boats, ther was six killed and Four wounded, so that they could not cross over, but falling down the Stream to us, we took them in tow, & crossed over to the other side; But finding the Savages were possessed of both sides of the River, I Apprehended it was in vain to proceed; for we could not see one of them, nor could we get on shore, for the River was so high, that it overflowed its Banks, so that in many places the Trees were as thick in the River For ten or twelve yards from its banks, as they were on the land, besides we could not keep out of the reach of there shot, the River not being Wide enough, & if it had, we could not Row against the Stream in the middle of it. I Therefore ordered the Boats to Retire, & this was the Unanimous opinion of every Officer with me; If the Savages had not fired on the first boats, but have let them pass, and not attacked until our last boat had come within there party, they would have Killed one half of us, as by that means every Boat would have received a fire, & we had not the least cover, and were Oblidged to keep as near the shore as the trees would allow us, to avoid the Strength of the Current; by a general fire they made on seeing us Retire, I Judged there could not be less, than two hundred of them; which was Enough to stop two thousand men in open Boats. . . ."[17]

Loftus returned to New Orleans in a very bad humor. On landing he sent an officer to D'Abbadie, who "showed his sympathy and offered all the assistance dependent on him," Aubry said in the official French report of 30 March. This did not soothe the English officer. Instead of listening to D'Abbadie's proposals[18] with a fitting appreciation, Aubry continued, Loftus declared that "M. D'Abbadie was the author of his misfortune, that it was by his orders that the Indians made the attack, and that he had seen [i.e., received officially] the chief of the Tunica who had come to tell him about the expedition."[19]

During the storm of correspondence that burst over the Atlantic when D'Abbadie immediately protested this "black and atrocious slander" (as Aubry described it) to his Minister and to General Gage, Loftus repeated his charge: he had indeed said "to Mr D'Clouet the Officer he sent to me . . . [that] I could not conceive, the Savages would have acted as they did, without Mr. D'Abbadie's approbation." Loftus was supported by Captain Campbell who informed him that there had been "six French men among the Savages by Mr D'Abbadie's Direction, and that he had never intended we should get up the River."[20]

These charges have remained unsubstantiated.[21] However, some Frenchmen may have participated in the attack on the convoy without the knowledge or approval of D'Abbadie. Pittman in his book declared "we have been very credibly informed that some of the French at Pointe Coupée, and their slaves, assisted the Tonicas in their attack." In view of an episode that Loftus did not report it is possible that some of the French settlers felt agrieved and, acting on their own account, gave private encouragement to the Tunicas, perhaps even shared in the attack. According to Aubry's official report, a runaway Indian slave who had attached himself to the convoy was recognized at the fort at Pointe Coupée and the commandant was asked to have him arrested. "He gave the order and notified M. Loftus; but this officer, far from listening to the reasons that were given him, protested against the right to arrest that slave, saying he was a free Indian. He went so far as to take him by force and ordered for that purpose a detachment of fifty men. The French commandant, not wishing to repulse force by force, released the slave."[22]

At New Orleans Loftus found new difficulties and delays which he blamed on French intransigence. "I was in hopes," he continued in his report to General Gage on 19 April, "of getting all our boats, and stores, overland to the Bayou, in the Lake Pontchartrin, a thing Commonly done there, and I had agreed with a Merchant there to Carry them over; in which case, we could have proceeded to Mobille where I Intended to go, without danger, or any further expence; but Mr D'Abbadie the Governour would not allow it. . . ." However,

D'Abbadie did permit two officers (Pittman was one of them) and twenty men to return to Mobile by this short route and one officer with ten men to remain at the Balise to guard the empty river boats against their use on a future expedition to the Illinois. For the rest, Loftus wrote, "I was therefore Oblidged to find some other way, & fortunately one of the Transports that brought us from Mobile, was in the River; I sent an Officer down to Stop her, and take her into the Service; and I went down to the Balise with all our boats and stores, and putting as many men and Stores on board the Vessel, as she could carry, Proceeded to Pensacola, as the most likely place to get assistance."[23]

Pittman on this expedition did not win favor with his commanding officer. Writing to Gage on 17 August about new plans for the Illinois, Loftus asked as "a particular favour" that the General would "Please to order Lt Robertson Engineer at Pensacola in the room of Lt Pittman, as the Former, in my opinion, is much more knowing in his profession, and has a great deal of Modesty." But Pittman had already secured his place. On his return to Mobile he had promptly written to New York about his continuing interest in the Illinois and in the course of the summer had the comfortable assurance that he would be continued in that special duty. "I am very glad to find," Gage replied to him on 19 June, "that your going up the Mississipi with the 22d Regt was a matter of Choice & that you are Desirous of going again with that Regt on their next Attempt to take Possession of the Illinois. On this Acct I Have Declined Ordering any other Person in Your Department on this Duty, and You will Set out with Major Loftus."[24]

IV

When there was no immediate prospect for a second attempt to get the 22nd Regiment to Fort Chartres, Pittman obtained permission from Major Farmar to go up alone. On 12 June the commanding officer at Mobile wrote to D'Abbadie to ask his "customary assistance and protection" for Pittman "who will present you with this letter and has my orders to ascend to the Illinois, if it is possible, for the purpose both of looking over the situation of the country and of discovering the disposition of the savages. I feel very certain that this cannot be done unless you put him under the protection of your convoy, and at the same time recommend him to the protection of the officer commanding there and on the river."[25]

Nine days later Pittman handed the letter to D'Abbadie who immediately avowed his readiness to procure for the lieutenant "all the means of journeying to the Illinois," as the governor replied the next day to Major Farmar. But this was not easily accomplished, for

Pittman had "arrived too late to profit by the last occasion; three batteaux destined for that post set out from here twelve days ago, and the fourth only three days ago. I would have sent an express to stop this last, if it had been possible for M. Pittman to embark immediately; but although he was at New Orleans, he had been obliged to leave his servants and his baggage below the river St. Jean on account of the lack of water to enter there. It would have been necessary to send for these with small pirogues, and this work would have caused a delay of two days at least; there would have been needed two others for M. Pittman to join the bateau, which, since it was heavily loaded, would not have been able to receive him with his servants, the supplies which were necessary for a voyage of three months, and his baggage without putting on land a part of its cargo. Your excellency will easily judge what embarrassment and even what expense these movements would have caused the proprietors of the bateau; but I would easily have removed these difficulties if another had not been presented: it was that this bateau having set out eight days after the others and being delayed four [more] days would never have been able to join the rest, and that it would not have been prudent to expose this officer to the accidents which might happen in ascending with a single bateau during a journey so long and so difficult as that from here to the Illinois." D'Abbadie expected that in the course of the next month there would be several bateaux ascending to the Arkansas. "M. Pittman can profit by these, and it is possible to go from there to the Illinois by land. If he prefers to await some opportunity to go direct to that post, there will be such at the end of July or the first days of August." He closed his letter with the firm assurance to Farmar that he would "spare no means to assist this officer to ascend to the Illinois in the most prompt and safe manner possible. This latter obligation demands many precautions in case of meeting some savages, your enemies."[26]

Pittman now had a glimpse of French management of Indian affairs. The commandant of the Arkansas Post and his interpreter brought down thirty-five men of that tribe to have a talk with the governor. On 4 July the lieutenant dined with Aubry, he reported later to Farmar, who:

"Acquainted me that there was to be talk that afternoon at Monsr D'Abbadies and pressed me to go to it. I refused—Saying that as Monsr D'Abbadie has not asked me I beged to be excused, he insisted on it that I should go, that it would be the most agreeable thing on Earth to Monsr D'Abbadie and that hurry of business prevented him thinking of a thing so necessary as my presence; I was at last prevailed on to accompany him. I could read in Monsr D'Abbadie's countenance the moment I entered that he never designed I should be there. I was keeping off as much as possible and would have gone away but they I suppose thinking if I did their conduct would deserve

Suspicion of some thing Sinister, called me back, and placed me at the Right hand of Monsr A[u]bry, this was rather inconvenient for being deaf with my left ear I cou'd not not hear perfectly Monsr D'Abbadie who was to the left of Monsr Aubry, Monsr D'Abbadie spoke very low to the Interpreter which was again Another very great inconvenience, for I was obliged as often as modesty would permit me to desire Monsr Aubry to repeat to me what what passed,—Monsr D'Abbadie acquainted them that the French was at peace with the English, that the right hand side of the River belonged to the English, & the left continued to the French, that the English attempted to go up to take possession of the Illinois, but were drove back by the Tonicas; He thank'd them for the attachment they had always shewn to the French, and that He was very Glad to see them, that he only regreted they were so far off he was sorry he could not see them oftner, desired therefore that they would live nearer him that by the River Rouge there was fine hunting grounds, and he could wish they would Establish themselves on them."[27]

"The odd behavior of Monsr D'Abbadie" on this occasion and "the nothingness of his promises" did not stop Pittman in his zealous determination to get to Fort Chartres. Two days after the "talk" at the Governor's house, he wrote a brash letter to D'Abbadie saying that when he had presented his orders, "You was so kind as to accord me this passage, but some days after told me you thought it too dangerous for me to attempt it. I cannot avoid doing myself the honor to remark to you that if protection is afforded me, I cannot run any more risk than any of his most christian Majesties' subjects that shall go up at the same time. In order to do justice to your intentions and my prudence (should any unforeseen accident arrive) I must desire you to give me an answer whether you will order me on my voyage and at my destin'd post that protection the importance of my employment necessarily demands."[28]

D'Abbadie reminded Pittman that since he had arrived too late for the convoy the only course left was to ascend to the Illinois in a single bateau. In view of the excitement among all the tribes along the river created by the war collars sent them by Pontiac such a passage would be dangerous. The protection that could be afforded by a party of French traders, on however friendly terms with the savages, would not be enough to assure his safety. Who were these men whom Pittman thought would protect him at the risk of their lives? The only opportunity to go to the Illinois was in the boats of *voyageurs* or traders. Did he think that these men, guided solely by their own interests, would have any inclination to make sacrifices in any unfortunate encounter and protect him against the Indians, his enemies? Certainly it was beyond the power of the governor to guarantee his safety against any such event. If, on considering the risks he would run, Pittman decided to undertake the voyage either in

a private convoy or in a single bateau, D'Abbadie would indeed do everything possible to help him on his way.[29]

Distrustful of this offer of D'Abbadie, who seemed to him intent only on delaying the taking possession of the Illinois Country, Pittman now proposed to Farmar a lone, secret attempt to reach the Illinois overland.

"The Strong Inclination I have to execute your orders relative to the Illinois has determined me on another Method to arrive at that place in a much Shorter time & with a probability of much more safety than by the R. Mississippi. I purpose quitting this place in four or five days under pretence of returning to Mobille instead of which I shall go to the Bay of Pascagoula to one Monsr Creps a Dutch Inhabitant there whom I will engage to lend me a Pirogue and 3 or 4 Negroes to carry me up, to the Chickasaw from thence I will proceed to the Cherokees with three or four Chactaws who I will satisfy for their trouble. When I arrive at the Cherokees I will endeavour to engage 12 or 14 of them to proceed with me to the Illinois falling down the Cherokee River. The Cherokees I shall engage with will carry with them white Colours in order to talk with the Illinois, by which sanction my person will be sacred to those Indians. If I find they can be brought to terms I will remain at the Illinois the winter if not will drive down the Mississipi with the Current, should I not succeed so far to to get the Assistance I want from the Cherokees, I will return to Mobille by way of Tombeckbé. I shall not take any one with me from hence but my Servant and the Interpreter who has engaged to go with me and to whom alone I have entrusted this secret which he has promised faithfully to keep. . . . I leave my little boy [a slave?] and my effects at Maxant's who will give me an order for any goods in his Magazine above and a Letter of Credit for any money I shall want."[30]

While Pittman awaited Major Farmar's approval of his new plan, D'Abbadie, in accordance with his promises, "talked" with more delegations of Indians to smooth the way for English occupation. On 14 July he received a deputation of twelve Choctaws "in the presence of M. Pittman. . . . I did everything to tranquillize them and assured them that the English would provide for their needs and would also give them marks of their friendship," he noted in his journal.

On the same day he received three Tunica chiefs and thirty warriors whom he had ordered down to New Orleans for censure and explanation of their conduct in March. In the presence of Pittman the governor declared that his heart had bled because they had rejected his talk sent in advance of the Loftus expedition. "Why," he asked, "have you struck at our friends, the English, who have done nothing to you, and are going to the Illinois to take possession of the territory which the great emperor has given them?" After a further exchange, the chiefs agreed that, since he ordered it, "we shall be peaceful and the English can come. Let them not be ingrates and let them give us

something." To this D'Abbadie replied: "You relieve my heart. . . . You see this English chief, my friend; I take his hand." Then all the chiefs "gave their hands to Pittman," D'Abbadie wrote in his journal, and the English officer promised on the part of the English "the same gifts and the same friendship as the French." The Indians then "chanted the Calumet" and departed. On the 18th at a final session the governor gave the annual present to the Tunicas. "M. Pittman too had a talk with them; and with some wine and brandy which he distributed to them, he made them some presents of merchandise."[31]

On 19 July, according to a note in D'Abbadie's journal, Pittman, persuaded of the difficulties he would encounter in undertaking alone a voyage up the Mississippi, returned to Mobile. Apparently Major Farmar declined to approve his proposal to make an attempt overland and sent him back immediately to demand again the governor's assistance. Within a few days after his return to New Orleans Pittman stirred up trouble for himself. He had begun by again asking D'Abbadie for advice but the latter had nothing to add to what he had already said: if the lieutenant found someone who was willing to give him passage, he should profit by the opportunity—in such case D'Abbadie would help him on his way as much as he could but there could be no guarantee of safe arrival at the Illinois.

The young man "believed himself authorized by these words of mine," D'Abbadie wrote in his journal on 12 August, "to assemble at his house several Canadians who were preparing to ascend to the Illinois and to make a grand address to them on the purpose of his journey."[32] Pittman spoke to them in French:

"Gentlemen

"The present situation of affairs has obliged me to give this trouble. Permitt me to return my sincerest thanks for your easy compliance with my request.

"The reason of my desiring to see you the inhabitants returning to your possessions at the Illinois I shall acquaint you with in as few words as possible.

"Being ordered by the English Commandant of Louisiana to proceed if possible to the Illinois under the protection of the French, I made the necessary application to Monsieur Dabbadie, who assured me of ev'ry thing that lay in his power to make such an undertaking easy to me, but at the same time advertis'd me of the dangers I must inevitably run in the course of such a voyage, and as no French troops were to mount, he could not in the least be accountable for any accidents that might happen to my person on the rout. Before I abandon the attempt of putting these orders in further execution, I thought proper to acquaint you how nearly they concern you. I need not tell you for you are too sensible of the present unhappy situation of your country, which is in a state of anarchy and confusion. and you

as well know the report which prevails as an undeniable fact that the Spaniards are in a short time to be put in possession of the remaining part of the French possessions in Louisianna. These things determin'd the English commandant to take an immediate occasion of sending a proper person to endeavour to fix on some means to tranquilize the savages at the Illinois and to give the inhabitants a proper Idea of the English who are to reside amongst them, of that liberty these subjects do eminently possess, and of their laws which the world reveres and admires for their justice, That Commandant has honor'd me with this important trust. The Illinois I fear will not taste of this happiness of an English government till the red men are brought to reason and the navigation of the Missisippi rendered free from their molestations. I daily expect his Majesty's agent for Indian affairs, who comes provided with the proper presents for the savages on the banks of the Mississippi, as well as those at the Illinois, but fear it will be impossible for him to deliver them 'till the spring. I mention this to show you how desirous we are of defusing in the remotest parts of America that peace heaven has bestowed on Europe. It now only remains for me to know whether that if I take a passage amongst you, you will defend me from any insults may be offered to my person, and take evry method for my security. You yourselves know best if you can promise this with safety: depend on it, if you could undertake this, that it will be received as the strongest proof of your affection to the English Government and you will be ever considered with that esteem good subjects deserve. Your answer will determine in my resolution with which I shall not fail to make you acquainted."[33]

D'Abbadie had no forewarning. Learning of the meeting by public rumor the next day, he sought out Lieutenant Pittman to say how greatly surprised he was that the young man should have called these people into his house without the governor's consent and "still more at the thoughtless discourse" which he had addressed to them, "giving out as a certainty the rumor of the cession of this colony to Spain." He told Pittman his "lack of deliberation" made it necessary to reprove him. The lieutenant then "made many excuses, assured me of the best intentions. and said it was troublesome to talk in a language of which one does not understand the force of the terms. The affair stopped there."[34]

But it did not actually stop there. D'Abbadie made a formal complaint to General Gage about Pittman's "lack of regard and thought on the subject." The British Commander-in-chief, however, did not find the offence very heinous, for by the time D'Abbadie's letter reached him, the transfer was officially known. Gage reproved the young man gently: "I am certain You meant no harm in this, but as You was in Monsr d'Abbadie's Government by a toleration from him, and under his protection, I wish you had not taken any Steps

that could give him the last [least] reason to accuse You of Exceeding that Confidence he had placed in You. You Should do every thing that is proper to make him amends for this; And make him every excuse that is Neccessary, & Endeavour to regain his Confidence & good Opinion."

In defense Pittman protested that D'Abbadie had told him to talk to the traders (there were only seven of them) and he had not thought he would be censured. The news of the country's being ceded to the Spanish, he said, "was given out publickly by Mr Dabbadie himself at his own table." Nevertheless, he had made "the most submissive apologies" and he would not fail in repeating them. Finally, he reported to Gage that three days before the governor's death Pittman had "above two hours conversation" with him, during which the latter assured him that "far from being angry at what I did, he rather consider'd it as a zeal to execute the orders I was charged with, and [he] had no intention to draw on me the least anger" from the general.[35]

When the men returning to the Illinois declined to take Pittman with them, he waited in vain for another opportunity to carry out his mission. On 15 September he received sharp orders from Farmar: "if you cannot Succeed in the design of going up to the Illinois, under the protection of a French convoy, you are immediately to return to Mobile."[36] Though he left New Orleans early in October, Pittman did not give up hope and near the close of the year he was still enquiring about conditions in the upper country. On 16 December Aubry, in the most friendly way, was still discouraging any immediate attempt to ascend the river.

"The News we have recieved from Illinois is by no means favorable for you; the Savages are allways extreemly animated, and I believe that under these circumstances it will not be prudent for you to hazard going up there. it would be far better, as I have before told you, to wait, and with a little patience all will go well.

"I send to Mr Stuart an exact copy of a letter I have just recieved from the Officer who commands at Illinois, he will see by that the situation of affairs in the upper Country.

"The Embarras[sment] of the Commandant at Illinois is extreme, he is tormented by all the nations and has nothing to give them. the Inhabitants are very miserable, the red men kill their cattle, and pillage them, and they dare not say any thing. It is time this should finish, I hope that the revolution [?] of the Spaniards may produce a favorable change for You. May it please God, for me I know not what will become of me, nor where will be my destiny, but this is certain in what ever part of the world I may go, I shall be all my Life, with sentiments of the greatest esteem and friendship, My dear Sir, and friend,

"Your very humble and most obedient Servt
Aubry."[37]

V

The southern boundary of British West Florida, formed by the Iberville and Amit (or Amite) Rivers and Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, provided to the eye a waterway which would free the new masters of eastern Louisiana and the Illinois from any dependence on French goodwill for transit through New Orleans to the Gulf and thus ensure real control of the rich trade anticipated. At that time the name *Iberville* was vaguely applied to the seemingly continuous watercourse reported on the maps from the Mississippi to Lake Maurepas with the Amit indicated as a tributary from the north. Pittman's surveys were presently to make clear, however, that the Amit, which rises east of Natchez, flows south to an apparent junction with the Iberville (now known as Bayou Manchac), and then east to Lake Maurepas, was the main stream and the Iberville only a lesser bayou flowing into the Amit and linked with the Mississippi by a swampy channel only filled during the flood times of the great river.

Authorities far away in New York and London looked with great interest at this potential waterway around the "island of Orleans." Both Pittman and Captain Lieutenant James Campbell of the 34th urged the development of the Iberville and hoped for the assignment. "I am pleased to See by a Letter from Lieut Pittman to Colonel Robertson," Gage wrote to Farmar on 20 May 1764, "that the Passage thro' that River into the Mississippi, may be Cleared with much less Trouble than was imagined. If You should not have already began that very necessary Work, I must beg of You to Set about it without delay. As Lieut Pittman has already Viewed part of the River, He will be the properest Person to Direct the Work, & I think that he had better begin it from Lake *Maurepas*, as by Clearing up the River, the Stream will carry away the Rubbish, as he Clears it."

But slow communications worked against Pittman. Farmar preferred Campbell. The captain had originally been slated by Robertson to command at Natchez and on the way north with Loftus he had been instructed, he later wrote, "to clear the Iberville with my Party, if Practicable." On examining the Iberville near the Mississippi "as far as the opportunity I had could allow" and learning what he could of it from the French, he felt assured he could open communication with the lakes and "took every occasion" to offer himself for this service.[38] Farmar "Judged him the properest person" for this assignment, "having more Interest amongst the French than Lieut. Pittman, and more especially, as He in a manner must be upon the spot, wou'd be able to prosecute both schemes at the same time." The only method of proceeding, the major informed Gage, was "by contracting with the French, which Campbell has my directions to execute."[39]

As early as June Campbell was in New Orleans, D'Abbadie noted

in his journal on 12 August, with his "project of opening the bayou or river Iberville, in order to make connection from the river to Lake Maurepas. . . . he has asked my permission to bring together some English deserters and some French volunteers and also to give my approval that certain men, Du Planti and Brassiliers, who appeared to be willing to undertake this work, be enabled to do it." The French governor was quite willing to cooperate, for the English would pay their French employees in cash and money was short in New Orleans. He was, however, doubtful of results: "I am not yet able to have a positive opinion on this enterprise. Some look upon it as very difficult, others as very easy; but it appears to me that no one here has a very certain knowledge of the conditions of this river."[40]

So it proved. On 20 August Campbell set out from New Orleans to "reconoitre the Iberville River in Company with an Under taker and a party of Indians for my Guards," but they were to return unsuccessful. This river which the English "wish to attempt to dig out," D'Abbadie wrote to the Minister on 10 September, "is still only well known by some old savages living in our territory. It communicates, according to what they say, from the river Mississippi into the grand river Amit, but the latter is cut by so many other small rivers that lose themselves, like it, in Lake Maurepas that one can be easily deceived. This is what happened to M. Campbell, for after having passed through different bayous or little rivers, he did not find the one he was looking for."[41]

But Campbell persisted. Late in September he planned a second attempt to find the Iberville. He arrived at Richmond Point, six leagues below Baton Rouge, on 21 October and "the Next Morning with 4 Indians and three Negroes proceeded to trace the Course of the Iberville," which he said was known to the French only as the Manchac. At this time the Mississippi was ten or twelve feet lower than the Iberville. He cut his way along the dry channel of the latter for three leagues and observed a "prodigious" number of large trees fallen across from both sides, which would make the clearing of it before the rising of the Mississippi in January "a hard task." At this point two rivulets joined the Iberville from opposite sides, forming a fork called the "Commyt." Here the Iberville became wider and he now found water deep enough for a vessel of one hundred tons. A league farther on he came to the junction with the Amit. He then returned to Richmond Point for a boat in which to continue his exploration. About three weeks later, in a "green Cypress Canoe just finished," he left the Commyt on 22 November and arrived at Mobile on 8 December.[42]

Campbell had at first proposed to clear the Iberville with forty hands, but because the work had to be accomplished before the winter rise of the Mississippi he had contracted early in October with his new "undertaker," a Monsieur Dupart of New Orleans, for fifty-eight

Negroes and two white overseers. Now, he reported to General Gage, "I . . . can with Pleasure Inform you that by the first of January that work will be finished." Farmar, too, was greatly pleased at Campbell's "having come all through the River Iberville in a Canoe" and had "the greatest expectation from that Enterprise."[43]

D'Abbadie's view of this operation was less optimistic. On 27 November, rumors having reached him that Campbell had succeeded in passing through to the lakes, he sent the Sieur Roulin to visit the Bayou Iberville and report on the state of the works undertaken by the English. The governor learned that Campbell had indeed "after six weeks' work passed in a little pirogue from this river to Lake Maurepas" and from there had gone on to Mobile. But it was apparent that it would "be necessary to do much more . . . before it will be navigable for large bateaux even when the water stands at two-thirds flood, both on account of the sinuosity of the stream and the necessity of making a portage of nearly four leagues."[44]

Lieutenant Pittman during these months when Campbell was directing work that he thought should have been assigned to him grew increasingly discontented. Unsuccessful in obtaining a passage up the Mississippi under French protection, he had proposed to Farmar his traveling to the Illinois through the backcountry of eastern Louisiana, but his letters seeking approval had remained unanswered. On returning to Mobile without authorization, not only had he been sharply reprimanded and abruptly ordered back to New Orleans, but he had been given a rude letter to hand to D'Abbadie. "I hope," Farmar wrote, "he has done nothing [that] could Oblige him to quit that Place. However, if any means are left for him to go to Illinois, [I] beg You'll send him as soon as Possible." In his eagerness to set out on his special mission, Pittman had then managed to annoy D'Abbadie by calling the meeting of Illinois men. Finally, late in the year he had the mortification of being present when Farmar sent Lieutenant John Ross of the 34th with Hugh Crawford on an overland reconnaissance to Fort Chartres, carrying by way of introduction the open letter to Captain St. Ange which D'Abbadie had furnished Pittman, "to Execute the Orders I was first entrusted with, tho' I continued to offer my services.[45]

When he was recalled to Mobile in the autumn and reported for orders, Pittman was told by Major Farmar that he had none to give him, for none had been received from New York. "On which," the lieutenant wrote to Gage, "I show'd him the letter you did me the honor to write me dated the 19th of June, but these he told me were nothing to him."[46] Pittman pointed out to the major that "he might with equal propriety Say the Same thing when at Illinois [by this time it had been decided that Farmar with the 34th would make the new attempt up the Mississippi], and if that should be the Case it would be needless for me to go and I apply'd for his dismission in writing which he refus'd giving." So confronted, the major did at length arrange

that the regimental artificers at Mobile should take orders from Pittman as engineer though the accounts would be kept by Captain John Farmar.

"In this Confus'd Way" matters continued until the arrival of Governor Johnstone, who was "invest'd with powers for carrying on the King's Works." Johnstone, said Pittman, "would have Consider'd me as Engineer till the Troops should go to the Illinois (he taking the Orders You gave me, and which I shew'd to him, in the same light I did) but Major Farmar still persisted in declaring his Sentiments to the Contrary."

At this time Campbell came from the Iberville, leaving a crew of Negroes at work clearing the river under the supervision of the French contractor. "I apply'd," Pittman continued in this lengthy letter to Gage, "to be sent immediately to take the direction of that Work which from the great Expence tis carried on at, I thought Naturally required a proper Person on the part of his Majesty to see it should be executed with the greatest diligence, but this also was refused me."

To bring the dispute over his assignment as engineer to a head, Pittman on 23 December wrote to Farmar asking for his dismissal to New York.

"Its with the upmost submission I acquaint you that from the uncertain and disagreeable situation I have been some time in, from your not considering me as authoris'd to act as Engineer, and treating me immediately as dependant on You that I am reduced to the Necessity of requiring from you an answer in writing to the following questions.

> "If I am Engineer at Mobile (as the General has directed me) can any works be carried on or the artificers employ'd without my being employ'd in them?
>
> "If I am Engineer on the expedition to the Illinois only, ought I not to be employ'd in works necessary to that service? I mean the openning the River Ibberville or carrying on any surveys useful to his Majesties service.
>
> "If I am in no office at all, as you have said to several, can I in any degree of propriety be detained here to recieve the Kings pay without discharging the Duties which entitle me to it.
>
> "It lies with you, Sir, to reconcile these matters, which to me are of the utmost immediate consequence. I must beg your answer in writing, or must send a copy of this letter to General Gage to shew him that I have at least endeavourd to do my duty."

Major Farmar ignored this letter. But to keep Pittman in his place he returned a signed report from Pittman on work performed in the garrison and demanded one without signature. Pittman's rejoinder

was equally curt: "The little time I have to finish my affairs for N. York [i.e., get his mail ready] obliges me to beg of you an immediate and explicit answer to the letter I had yesterday the honor of writing to you, at the same time [I] must desire you to excuse my giving in any return without having first sign'd it myself." To this the major sent a note that he could not give up time to a reply in writing as he was "employ'd in business of more consequence to the public."[47] Pittman now applied for permission to return to New York, but his request was ignored.

The outcome of this struggle was that Farmar now "Consented to my taking the direction of that Work [clearing of the Iberville] and I propos'd making a Survey of the River, and the Lakes Pontchartrain, and Maurepas if time would allow [before the departure of the 34th for the Illinois]." The major, however, would advance him no money on the grounds that he had "no Publick Moneys on his hands" and declared that Pittman must pay expenses out of his own pocket until further word from Gage. But, once more, Pittman wrote in the summary of his troubles with Farmar, the major "alter'd his resolution" and announced that Campbell was to direct the work on the Iberville. "I therefore have no Concern but in the Survey, a Service which will take me three Months to Compleat."

On 8 January 1765 Pittman wrote to New York from Mobile Bay that he was setting out the next day to commence the survey of the Iberville and the lakes. "You may depend on my taking evry opportunity of writing whatever interesting may come to my knowledge during the course of my survey," he assured Gage. "I should before have done myself this honor but that I depended on Major Farmars forwarding to You the Intelligence I constantly gave him."[48] The lieutenant went to New Orleans, probably by the short route via Lake Pontchartrain and the Bayou St. Jean, completed his preparations, and then went back to the lake to begin the actual work in February.

By 27 March Pittman had made considerable progress on his survey. "I send to Your Excellency by this opportunity," he wrote from New Orleans to the general, "a draught of the passage from Lake Pontchartrain to the Missisippi with a description thereof and directions to be follow'd in that Navigation in writing, as also two surveys I have made of the Ibberville: the one on a scale of 200 feet to an Inch shews all the ground clear'd, from the time Captain Lieutt Campbell [took] the direction of the Kings works there, 'till the twentieth of February, the day I made the survey. the Ibberville at that time was much in the same condition quite to the Anatamaha, as what is represented in that plan which may serve as a specimen for the whole; the other is on a scale of 2000 feet to an Inch and shows all that part of the river on which I propose a road to be made in the description. I send also a plan of New Orleans, a draught of the Bay of

Pensacola, another of the Roadstead of Ship Island and the opposite coast, and another of the Bar of Mobile. I have compiled a general draught of this [country] from the different surveys &c of several French officers, and Engineers, which I have gott togeather; it extends East and West from the Alibamons to Nachitaches and North and South from the Balize to the River Margott, including the situation of every village of the Chactaw Nation and the Chickashaw country. A copy of this I have begun for You, but the sudden departure of the Vessel I send this letter by will not allow me to finish it [in] time enough. I shall therefore profitt by the next opportunity."[49]

Two days later Pittman wrote again, this time to acknowledge receipt of Gage's letter of 17 January. "The papers I send by this opportunity will sufficiently inform You of the identity of the River Ibberville. I have taken ev'ry pains to render the draughts as correct, and the description as intelligent as possible. Your Excellency may be assured that what I have reported, or may hereafter report as certainties, are so from my own knowledge; knowing that trusting to hearsay is an imprudence which nothing can justify." With this letter he enclosed a "Description of the Massiac part of the River Amit and the River Ibberville."[50]

The "General draught of what the French call'd (before the Peace) Louissianne" (which Gage thought would prove "a very useful one, and I believe the only One of the kind that has ever been done") was not completed until late in June. "I have been at great pains in compiling it," Pittman wrote to Gage, "and flatter myself it is more correct than any thing hitherto done, as it is taken from the papers of different [French] Engineers, who were sent at several different times to examine the places laid down in it, the coast is mostly from my observation."[51]

The rivalry between Pittman and Campbell intensified. The latter had forebodings when he met the engineer in New Orleans early in February. "The Young Man," he declared to Gage (8 February), "is Disgusted at my Success and Determined to Report my Performance in the Meanest Light." A month later Campbell had real cause for alarm. Writing from Richmond Point on 8 March he reported to Farmar that "upon my arrival here I found every thing in Statu Quo, the navigation being opened only awaits the Rising of the River which this year is Extraordinary late as it was in Summer in falling." But Pittman, he said, had arrived before him and had "found fault with every thing done, and intends representing in the most despicable Lights all Mr Dupards performance, abused the Overseer, and declared he would stop any further payments from being made, which provoked the old Gentleman, that I had the greatest difficulty to keep him from taking his men off."[52]

Actuated by jealousy or not, the lieutenant had not forgotten that "when Capt. Campbell return'd from the Iberville to Mobille [in

December] it was publickly given out by him that the river was entirely cleared of every obstruction and wanted nothing but water to make it a navigation for any purpose."[53] On the very day that Campbell was complaining to Farmar from Richmond Point, Pittman was temporarily encamped on Lake Pontchartrain at Tigohew, "5 leagues to the point of the Bayeau St John," preparing a report to the major on the state of the Iberville: "I am sorry to inform you that every thing I found at the Iberville differs so much from the flattering account you received of it from Capt. Campbell. The work that has been done there is to little purpose nor is it by any means equal to the Expence, nor the least care has been taken to clear the River farther than three leagues & a half down, even Suppose that where they have worked had been cleared in the State they proposed to leave it. The Navigation would be continually liable to fresh interruptions. . . . my Battoe with great difficulty was carried up within 3 legues & 1/2 of the Mississippi nor cou'd I get her an Inch higher—tho' the Mississipi had entered and there was 3, 4, 5 feet Water all the way through."[54]

Major Farmar was disturbed. Two days after receiving Pittman's letter, he wrote from Mobile to General Gage that:

"the favorable accounts he [Campbell] has so repeatedly sent me, I am afraid was from no Authority of his own but rather hear say, this has lately transpired from good Authority, and it is also confirmed by his own confession. . . . He came here and made very favorable Reports . . . of his clearing the Iberville, and the advantages that the Trading part of this Colony might receive from it, when by Lieut. Pittman's letter of the 8th instant which I received the 22d (a copy of which I send you) he has not done any thing of the least consequence to render the Ibberville Navigable and has suffered His Majesty to be imposed on, from his shamefull Conduct & Neglect very unbecoming a British Officer, from Lt Pittmans information and Captn Lieut. Campbell's Sergeant's reports to Mr Pittman besides other Reports received here from Orleans. I must observe to your Excellency that without my orders and knowledge and contrary to my Inclinations Captn Campbell left the Ibberville and came here, and from his information to Governor Johnstone was a great means of pushing him to make several unreasonable demands on me. I am sorry to inform your Excellency that Lieut. Pittman intruded himself on Mr Johnstone in the same way (as Mr Johnstone imposed himself on them and many more as Commandant of the Troops &ca; they imagined they had secured several appointments from what they Esteemed Services done to Govr Johnstone[55]) and they were so jealous of each other that I was certain of early information from one or the other, in case either behaved amiss. You'll please to observe that Captn Campbell was at Orleans and here when he ought to have given his entire attention to the work he was employed about

otherwise such imposisions as Mr Pittman setts forth never could have happened without Captn Campbell's approbation or Consent; as Captn Campbell's last accounts of the Negroes Employed at the Ibberville was fifty Eight a Copy of which account I send you which occasioned my drawing Bills to the amount of the sum specified in it; if Lieut. Pittman's account corresponds with Truth which I will be a Judge of when I see what has been done at the Ibberville, and if he can make the other allegations concerning the Negroes appear to be facts before a Court of Inquiry which I shall order as soon as I get to the Ibberville, I must be under the necessity of sending them both to New York to receive that punishment the Agressor deserves."[56]

On 10 July at the encampment of the regiment at Point Iberville, such a court was held "to inquire into the Validity of a Report made by Lieut Philip Pittman of his Majesty's 15th Regt acting Engineer relative to the Clearing of the River Iberville." The proceedings opened with the reading of an extraction from Pittman's letter of 8 March to Farmar, which in addition to charging that the river had never been effectively cleared, stated flatly that "never more than forty-two Negroes have been employed including six wenches [as cooks] and they not half the time they are Charged at," whereas Campbell had reported fifty-eight. Asked to substantiate his charges, Pittman, noting that "it is insinuated by those who are my profess'd enemies that this report is hatched by jealousy and envy to answer the most revengeful ends," quoted orders from Major Farmar dated 12 January 1765, instructing him to report "from time to time . . . the Progress you make in this Service and every thing that may occur wherein his Majesty's Service can in any respect be effected [affected]." He had acted on this authority. He then presented witnesses who were interrogated by the Court, as was Major Farmar himself.

A deposition signed by five soldiers described the difficulties which the surveying party encountered in ascending the stream.

"We entered the River Ibberville on Thursday night the 14th of February 1765 and next morning proceeded up the river we mett with nothing to stop us (tho' there were several trees fallen into the River) till Saturday the 16th about four in the afternoon at which time we were Stop'd from proceeding any further as the River was block'd quite across by several trees which had floated down, and were lock'd one within another, so as to make it impossible for the Battoe to pass through them; Lieutenant Pittman with a Savage gott into a small Canoe which by keeping in shore, they with great difficulty gott above it, and Lieutenant Pittman seem'd to examine it with great attention, when he return'd he gave us every encouragement to attempt to clear it at which we sett about that evening and next morning, himself assisting, but as we had not proper materials were

obliged to desist. On sunday the 17th at Noon Lieuten. Pittman left the boat under the care of the Serjeant taking with him the Canoe, his surveying Instruments, two of the party namely Smith and Lightfoot, two Savages and a Negroe belonging to himself, and acquainted us he would send some negroes to make a passage for the Boat. In four or five days after 10 Negroes and one white man arrived, and began to work and in about one day and a half a free passage was made for the Battoe, we giving them all the assistance they demanded and the same day we sett off with the Battoe to join Lieutenant Pittman; on the 25th at about two in the afternoon Lieutenant Pittman came down, and join'd us about four miles below the Amitt, and immediately proceeded with us up the River, the day following, being the 26th we were stop'd by several emba[rra]ssments through which we cutt so that the Battoe could be but just got through in short all the way we went we found continual stopages and emba[rra]ssments, at half past five in the afternoon we got the Battoe as far as she would go which was near half a League above a place call'd Anatamaha which is said to be four Leagues from the Mississippi. we did not perceive that there had been the least work done any where below Anatamaha excepting what was done in our presence. . . ."

Campbell in a detailed rejoinder asserted that "the Report that Mr Pittman made of the Ibberville is scarce worthy of my contradicting it, as that Navigation is now oppend with great labour & Dilligence. That part of the Iberville between the Forks and the River Amitte which Lieut Pittman Complains of having been neglected gave me little Concern, the water there being deep, and what obstructions lay there could be removed at any time." Pittman, he declared, "was determin'd to find fault with every part of my performance and I plainly see his resentment leveld at me . . . which must proceed from envying my Success and being employed in the Service he thought belonging to his profession and thought himself more capable to execute it than me, but forgets had he been at that Juncture employed, he could not prevail on one man from Orleans to come with him."[59]

Pittman stressed that Campbell's procedure in clearing had been to drop the cuttings from the banks of the Iberville into the stream bed with the expectation that high water from the Mississippi would wash the debris away. In a rebuttal the lieutenant reiterated that "it was never my oppinion after seeing the river and the rubbish left & thrown into it that any quantity of water or a Current however strong cou'd be sufficient to clear it of its encumbrances the hard Labour since used by the Soldiers on it as well as its present State are sufficient testimonies of the justice of that oppinion."

Asked if he had any further rejoinder, Campbell offered none. The

Court of Inquiry closed its proceedings on 13 July, with no conclusions entered on the record. The next day it heard a complaint from M. Dupart, who had been denounced by Pittman as a principal in the affair and who now brought charges of physical assault and false allegations against him. Again, this resulted only in establishing a record of charges and defense, since this was merely a formal inquiry, not a court-martial. However, through Farmar's action all of it would be placed in Pittman's service file.

From the available papers it is not possible to determine the accuracy of Pittman's charges or of Campbell's defense. On the essential point of navigability, Pittman appears to have been right. Although Lieutenant Alexander Fraser in 1768 did manage to pass a schooner through the Iberville, it did not become an effective route for shipping. For a little time after the building of Fort Bute (the second English fort there) an English trading town called Manchac flourished as a rival to New Orleans, but traffic continued to use the Mississippi to the Gulf.

The proceedings of both inquiries were forwarded to Gage on 14 August. While the regiment was still encamped at Point Iberville, Pittman, anxious to have his side of the controversy clear, laid the entire matter before the general. All this had been mere harassment, he wrote on 22 July. "Imediatly after my making my report to Major Farmar . . . stories were industriously spread to my disadvantage, of my having inform'd him, from motives of malice, and ill nature, of things, for which I had little foundation, and which at any rate were not my business. . . . I was a little surprised . . . [that the Court of Inquiry] rather treated me as a criminal, than a Gentleman who was honestly to inform them with his proceedings." The ordering of the court had "a strange air of mystery," he said, for he had no advance notice of it. The two eldest lieutenants of the regiment had been excluded from being members of the court on the grounds that they had other duties to perform: yet both had been solicited by the commanding officer to act as Judge advocates and both had refused. The affidavit from Captain Campbell's sergeant had not been accepted. Monsieur Dupart's memorial, presented to Major Farmar at New Orleans, had been kept a secret from him. That Frenchman, as his own countrymen had declared, was an "infamous" man. Monsieur Aubry had often spoken of him as a "most worthless, bad man." By some "imprudence of Messrs Campbell and Steward [Stuart], Dupart was inform'd with the contents of these letters I had wrote to them, and he from that moment swore Revenge against me, often declaring my scalp should pay for it." After considerable more detail, Pittman expressed his fear that the general might think that he had said too much on the subject "and have indulged what may be supposed a picque." But he had so written because Dupart "by great mistake had been represented as a man capable of doing the most important services."

Pittman may indeed "have trespass'd too far" on the general's patience by giving him this "long detail," for seven months later in acknowledging receipt of all these complaints and counter complaints (which he had not yet had time to examine), Gage made a terse and testy reply: "I am sorry upon every Occasion, to be troubled with matters of this Sort, and could wish the King's Business was not too much interrupted in that Quarter by these disputes."[60]

VI

While Pittman and his commanding officer were tangled in dispute and dislike, the "King's Business"—the movement of troops to the Illinois Country—was going forward but only at a very slow pace. On 13 November 1764 Farmar had had to write to General Gage that his "expectations upon the forwardness of this intended enterprize up the Mississippi, far exceeds our abilities, for notwithstanding my whole thoughts have been employed in the necessary preparations for the Troops with all possible dispatch, yet the various and common accidents that generally interfere on these occasions have not been the real and only obstacles at this time." He had no more than sixteen serviceable men per company of forty, many of his officers were on the sick list, negotiation with unfriendly tribes along the Mississippi was slow and costly. Weeks, and then months, were passing. At best, Farmar hoped, the expedition might possibly be ready to set out late in the coming January.

The most difficult problem was transportation. In mid-October 1764 Captain Lind had delivered to Governor D'Abbadie a letter from Major Farmar concerning arrangements for the voyage to the Illinois, but the captain could accomplish nothing, for he had neither money nor credit. A month later, acting on further orders from Mobile, he proposed to bring up from the Balise the boats left there in April by Loftus. D'Abbadie gave him permission but was astonished to be told that it would cost from 1,000 to 1,200 *livres* to hire Negroes for this work. He was embarrassed to be asked by the English captain for the loan of soldiers from the garrison to avoid this cost, for he did not think the request proper. To Lind's dissappointment he only murmured politely that, having but few men, he could not spare any for such service. Lind now managed to borrow 800 *livres* from the Sieur Bienvenu of New Orleans and sent for the boats. But all this effort came to nothing, for his agent returned from the Balise with the unpleasant news that the *bateaux* were beyond use.

To get preparations effectively started Lind needed far more cash. Gilbert Antoine Maxent was interested but wanted 10,000 *livres* in advance. In vain Lind went about the city seeking money. He now sought to borrow this sum from the governor, but D'Abbadie, being very short of operating funds himself and doubtful of the propriety of

the proposal, begged off, saying he could not lend the King's money on his own authority. "My refusal," he wrote in his journal on 12 November, "put him out of humor." The negotiations with Maxent broke down completely on 25 November when Lind haled Maxent before the governor, charging the Frenchman with insulting him. Maxent in turn bluntly declared that he would do no business with the captain who had sought to bribe him by proposing to add an extra 3,000 *piastres* (15,000 *livres*) to the total of the contract as a private *bénéfice* for the French merchant. Lind did not strengthen his position with D'Abbadie when he insisted indiscreetly that he thought such proposals were customary in dealing with the French.[61]

Breaking with Maxent on 25 November, Lind the next day signed a contract with Isaac Monsanto. This merchant agreed to provide for the expedition eight large *bateaux* of twenty to twenty-two oars and to furnish each boat with the customary equipment of "Mats, Veilles, Centis, prelats, Cables, Aneres, Gouvernail, Cordages, deux Sceaux, et Cinquante rames" for the sum of 5,137 *livres* for each *bateau*. He further agreed to do everything necessary to put into the same condition as the first eight boats five *bateaux* which had been left at the Balise under the care of Lieutenant Grand of the 22nd Regiment; for each of these Monsanto was to be paid 2,400 *livres*. He was, then, to furnish the thirteen boats for a total of 53,097 *livres* "without commission" and to deliver them in condition to receive the troops for the Illinois in the month of January. Monsanto was to give bond of 2,000 *livres* for the completion of the contract.

On his part Lind agreed to pay 10,000 *livres* in *piastres gourdes* (i.e., hard money) before his departure for Mobile, 10,000 more, also in cash, before the boats left for the Illinois, 20,000 *livres* in letters of exchange drawn on the Treasury of England (one for 10,000 at fifteen days and two for 5,000 each at thirty days), and the balance in letters of exchange before the departure of the boats. All payments were to be made before anything was loaded into the *bateaux*. Extras not specified in the contract and later ordered were to be paid for before the convoy left New Orleans—half in *piastres gourdes* and half in notes on the Treasury in London on which Monsanto would be allowed a five per cent commission.[62]

This was progress. But Lind still had no cash to put up. He could only promise, in an added paragraph, to send the initial payment as soon as he returned to Mobile and to agree that Monsanto and Company would not be required to deliver the boats until two months after receipt of it.[63] Off he went the following day to Mobile to lay the contract before Farmar. But the major was "in greatest distress" for want of funds. "Capt. Lind," he wrote to General Gage on 21 December 1764, "was obligd to return to this place for want of Cash. Mr D'Abbadie absolutely refused him any assistance with that necessary Article, tho' he is very profuse in empty promises and

deceiptfull assurances, when at the same time I am pretty confident, he'll do every thing to retard the undertaking, where he can shew any plausible reason for such behaviour, or by a nice chicanerie avoid any personal appearance in it." Consequently, "every thing is now at a stand for the want of Cash, which added to the weakness of the Regiment, will, I fear, prevent us puting your orders into Execution as soon as I cou'd wish, as I esteem it impracticable to get further than Natches unless we are speedily recruited."

On 11 March 1765 Farmar reported to New York that he had drawn on Gage for £1405 18s 8p in favor of Monsanto. This had become absolutely necessary, for the New Orleans merchant on 23 January (in answer to Farmar's letters of 21 December and 4 January instructing him to continue with the work on the boats and promising to send the dollars and bills of exchange "by the first opportunity") had written urgently for some money:

"As you have not done it as yet, the want of money I find has been the occasion, that same want unfortunately is found here, and is the occasion of my finding myself very much put to it. I Imagined I deserved the preferance to Mr Dupart who has recd 1400 dollars, when at the same time his work is done by his own Negroes, for whom he advances nothing, and I am obliged to do every thing with ready money, for which I have paid a great Interest (and I can't find what I have occasion for to continue the work) I was in hopes from this motive that money would have been sent, and it is now more than a month since you mentioned it, I should have been very glad you had at least sent me a part. . . . If you have not sent the money on receipt of this, I beg Sir you would not defer it, You know I am obliged only to deliver the Boats two months after the first payment. they may be ready sooner, and I don't doubt but you will likewise, if not you'll be so good as to send somebody to receive them, once finished I cannot take charge of them. . . . I hope likewise to be indemnified on account of the augmentation of my expences, and for the Interest of the money I have been obliged to pay, from my not receiving it according to agreement."[64]

The difficulty in arranging transportation was merely financial. Major Farmar found himself confronted by a much greater obstacle. George Johnstone, the first civil governor of West Florida, immediately on his arrival at Mobile in December 1764, had assumed that he was in absolute and complete control of all activities in the colony. A power struggle developed. Johnstone demanded a detailed report on all that had transpired during the period when Farmar had had "the sole direction of affairs." The governor claimed the direction of all military supplies and fortifications and demanded "the supreme authority in the military department." Acknowledging Johnstone's authority as governor in civil matters, Farmar insisted

that his own orders concerning the troops came from Gage and in the heavy correspondence that ensued was glad to have the general's assurance that he was responsible only to New York headquarters.

In the course of this feuding Farmar reported to Gage (11 March) that the governor and his council did everything possible "to Impede my Leaving of this Place" and to "ruin my Creditt with the French at Orleans" so as to "Intirely Prevent the Expedition going up to the Illinois." Johnstone, he declared (21 March), opposed Farmar's taking any provisions from Mobile for the voyage. He took into "his possession all the King's Vessels" and refused the use of them unless Farmar repaired them. "I cannot think in prudence to comply with so unreasonable a request as it must be attended with infinite Expence: therefore contrary to my Inclination I must fall upon some other Method to transport from hence the Troops, Baggage, &ca. to Orleans."

On 25 March Johnstone was still trying to dominate Farmar's mission. He wanted the major to come to a meeting in his office to discuss plans, but the latter declined. Bluntly speaking, the plans for the expedition were none of Johnstone's business, Farmar made quite clear in a letter of this date: "as to laying before you a plan of the measures I propose pursuing in the Execution of the orders I am intrusted with, in my humble opinion, it would be acting an inconsistent part, particularly as I do not apprehend any person in this Province except Captn Stuart [Indian agent] is in any respect concerned. I must therefore desire to be excused on this head, as also attending the meeting your Excellency proposes; Especially as I do not conceive the orders I am intrusted with the Execution of, can after the steps taken, come under a Deliberation here."

The governor had yet other ways of making life difficult for Farmar which, the latter avowed, delayed still longer the departure of the troops.[65] But the day came when the regiment did leave Mobile. On 16 May Farmar wrote with satisfaction to General Gage: "I have the honour to inform your Excellency by the first opportunity of the Regiments arrival at New Orleans, we are encamped opposite the Town, & hope in a few days to have every thing in readiness for our departure, I have the greatest reason to expect every assistance possible on the part of Mr. Aubry, tho' taking a quiet possession of the Country is far from the inclinations of the Inhabitants here, as the Publick encouragement (or rather protection) given to Deserters (notwithstanding my remonstrances) both alarm & surprize me, for they have only to cross the River and then declare themselves (even before their Officers faces) however Sir you may depend I shall do every thing in my power to stop so dangerous & pernicious a practice."

The "few days" Farmar expected to remain at the camp opposite New Orleans turned into six weeks. Although the contractor had

assured him that everything was ready, the major found several of the boats so leaky from lying exposed to the sun that he had to order them fresh caulked and tarred "which together with the scarcity of Carpenters and Workmen at this place has occasioned my long Continuance here both tedious and disagreeable to me," he wrote to Gage on 21 June. He now expected to leave for Illinois "on Sunday the 23d instant for certain, every thing now ready & on Board and from the favourable reports I have since received, don't the least doubt of a quiet possession. " The regiment, however, did not depart for several more days.[66]

By 9 July the convoy had reached Point Iberville, where it was detained for a fortnight "in getting ten pieces of Cannon on board." To accomplish this every *bateau* had to be unloaded, as Farmar had found "from our experience in things of this nature it was absolutely necessary to load them in a more compact manner." Here he left two boats behind for want of men to row them. It was during this delay that he ordered the court of inquiry to sit upon the validity of Pittman's report on the clearing of the Iberville. On the 21st tents were ordered struck for departure "tomorrow morning before daybreak."[67]

The regiment arrived at Natchez about six o'clock in the morning on 11 August. "Our progression is indeed tedious and slow," Farmar wrote to Gage the next day, "as we rarely attain more than three leagues in a day, sometimes barely two, the present intollerable heat of the season obliging us to lye by in the middle of the day. I sett off betwixt two & three in the morning and row till nine, and from four to sun set in the Evening, the men being by that time sufficiently harrassed and fatigued."[68] Here he intended to rest the men for four or five days before proceeding on. "I believe the Arkansas will not attack us, and only have some suspition of an opposition within a few leagues of the Illinois." To meet this he had planned to take possession of a fort on the Ohio thirteen leagues from the Mississippi from which point of vantage he had thought to call in the discontented tribes "to prevail with them to lay aside their prejudices." But this no longer appeared feasible, for he had heard that the fort had been destroyed by the Cherokees or the Chickasaws.[69] He was now "very apprehensive . . . from the many delays before, and the great time taken in rowing up at this season" that they might fall short of provisions but he thought he could subsist the expedition on buffalo, bear, and other game "if I am not deceived in the plentifull accounts I have received of that every ready supply."

"Hardships & immense difficulties" beset the expedition during the whole of "this tedious passage." Because progress was so very slow, Farmar had been tempted at one point on the lower river to continue rowing a little longer in the forenoon. But the consequence

was that "no less than forty-five Men in one day were struck with the heat of the Sun, many of which we despaired of their recovery, altho' [we] were happy to find afterwards that out of the above number only one died." The heat abated as they proceeded higher, but "as the River continued falling, accidents more frequently happened to our Boats . . . such as the Boats running aground upon sand-Banks & thrown by the rapidity of the current upon logs, which often obliged us to unload them & was sometimes the work of two days, the Soldiers, during which time, remaining for hours together, in the Water." Above the Ohio the navigation of the Mississippi proved "extreamly intricate." On one occasion a boat caught in "the utmost danger" detained the convoy for two days. During all this time the men "behaved with great resolution & chearfullness beyond what could be expected from Troops unaccustomed to the like services."

At the Arkansas the convoy's pilot ran off. The French commandant absolutely refused to allow him to hire another, Farmar reported to Gage. "This greatly hindered our progress afterwards, for, as the Islands in this great River form many different chanells we cou'd not be judges which was the most convenient for us being unacquainted with the River." The major did succeed in hiring a pilot "out of a canoe" but he proved "not sufficiently acquainted with the River." The commandant confined in his fort "an old man whom he imagined seemed inclinable to serve me as Interpreter for the Arkansas Indians." Still sure that the French were generally trying to oppose his progress, Farmar wrote that the commandant had not permitted him to give presents to Indians whom he had met at the Arkansas Post so that he was obliged to meet them a few leagues higher up the Mississippi on the English side where the red men asserted that the French Officer had told them "it would become them better to strike upon the English than to take presents from them."

If all this were not enough, some of the provisions supplied at Mobile proved so bad that the major was often obliged to give the soldiers more than their usual allowance, for a great deal of it was not eatable: "I have reason to believe [it] was formerly condemned Provisions which the agents for the Contractor had found means to convey privatly into the store." Had it not been for "the dilligence of the Hunters I hired, together with the Chiccasaw Indians, who furnished the Convoy wth Buffalo & ca for upwards of five weeks," Farmar declared, "I must inevitably have failed in the Enterprise."[70]

Thus the "long and tedious trip" finally came to an end on 2 December when the weary regiment arrived at Fort Chartres, which had been occupied by a detachment of the 42nd Regiment under Captain Thomas Stirling since 10 October.[71]

VII

During this slow progress up the Mississippi Pittman was making use of his opportunities to observe the country through which he was passing, as he had been instructed to do by General Gage (19 June 1764), and to take "Plans of the Rivers, Forts, and Country which he thought might be useful to His Majesty's Service."

His principal employment was charting the Mississippi. On arrival at Fort Cavendish (as Farmar re-named Fort Chartres, for the 34th was Lord Cavendish's own regiment) the lieutenant reported to Gage that he had "taken a Draught of the Mississippi as far as this place on a scale of one League to an inch which I shall forward to you as soon as I can get it join'd and copy'd." Two months later the map was not yet ready for dispatching to New York, for Pittman was intending to continue his survey as far as the mouth of the Missouri. He did not complete this addition, possibly because Farmar was hostile to anything the lieutenant proposed. The map sent to Gage in May 1766 was inscribed: "A Draught of the River Mississippi from the Balise to Fort Cavendish taken in the Months of June, July, August, September, October, and November on a Passage to the Illinois with his Majesty's Thirty-fourth Regiment in the year 1765." Captain Harry Gordon of the Royal Engineers (who had been sent by General Gage into the West with Ensign Thomas Hutchins) on his journey down the Mississippi in September 1766 apparently had a copy of this map, for he noted in his journal that "Lieut Pitman had made a Plan of the River in coming up, which upon examing we found to be exacter than any thing we could do, in tumbling down this rapid Torrent."[72]

The first of the special reports to General Gage on the establishments along the Mississippi consisted of a plan of the abandoned fort at Natchez and a description of the country around it, prepared during the five-day stop there in August and sent on to the general two weeks after the arrival of the troops at Fort Cavendish.

"Description of Natches and State and Condition of the Fort.

"The Natches from its Situation and Soil is the finest and most fertile part of West Florida, and the Air is remarkably wholesome it is 186 Leagues Distant from New Orleans. The Landing Place is about 670 Yards from the Fort. The Road to it is very indifferent on account of a Steep high ground, which is a Small distance from the Landing Place and is Cutt by a Deep Gutter, which requires the greatest care to pass on horses-back, and is at present impracticable for Carriages. From the Top of this high Land another, or rather a hill is to be mounted, on the Summit of which stands the Fort. The Road becomes much better, and ascends with a gradual Slope along the side [of the] Hill, the pains of going up is well recompens'd by a Sight of a very beautiful prospect which discovers a most delightful Country full of

an agreeable Variety of little Hills and Large Meadows which are separated by small Copses of Trees most of which are Oak, Hiccory & Walnut. The Country is Clear for a great Extent and is well Watered. Hops grow Wild. All kinds of European Fruits come to great perfection, and every sort of Garden Stuff. The Fences of many of the Gardens made by the French still remain, and several Kinds of Fruit Trees mostly Figgs, Peaches and Wild Cherries. The French always Esteem'd the Tobacco produced here, preferable to any Cultivated in other parts of America. I perceiv'd that the Missisippi had fallen 36 Feet. the breadth of the River at this Place is exactly 1870 feet across. As I had no proper Instrument I could not take the Heights of the Fort from the Surface of the Water, but as near as I can guess it is about 180 feet. The Fort is an irregular Pentagon without Bastions, and is built of Planks of five Inches thick. The Buildings within the Fort are a Storehouse, a Magazine, a Barrack for two Officers, and a Barrack for Soldiers consisting of four Rooms of 17 feet by 21:6 Inches Dimensions, and a Guard house. There has been on a vacant side a Barrack for Soldiers, of nearly the same size of the one just mentioned which is entirely destroy'd, and scarcely any traces are to be seen of it. The Ditch which Surrounds the Fort is partly made, and partly Natural and the bottom is in most places nineteen feet from the Top of the Rampart and in many twelve & thirteen from the Top of the Counterscarp. On the North of the Fort there is no Ditch at all but is fenc'd round with Picquets to Prevent an Enemy getting to the Ditch, the Rampart is nearly the same height above the Picquets as it is in other Places from the Bottom of the Ditch. The Picquetted outwork appears to me too Extensive and is in many parts void of design—'tis at present mostly burnt Down and 'twas with difficulty I could trace them out, being overgrown with high Weeds, and Bushes as are the Ditch, Ramparts and every other part of the Fort. The Gates both of the fort and outworks are broke to pieces except St. Catharines, which is so call'd from its opening to a Road that leads to an Abandon'd Settlement of that name, which is five leagues from the Fort. The Commandant's House wants repairs in every thing but the Frame, which still remains good. The Walls are of Mud as are those of all other buildings. these Walls are mixt up wilh a Weed, that grows on most Trees in West Florida and is call'd Barbe Espaniol (it resembles Horse-hair, and is also made use of for making Mattresses) these Walls by some are prefer'd to brick in framed houses. The Doors, Flours, and Window Shutters are all destroy'd. The Chimney of the Guard House is entirely torn to pieces and has neither doors, or Window Shutters. The Barracks are in the same Condition except the fire places, which are not however in good repair. The Officers House which stands opposite the Gate in the Communications wants flours, window Shutters, and doors. And the Bake house which Stands in a line with it wants every thing one oven being with difficulty to be

made use of, and the other broke to pieces. The Roofs of all the Building wants some small repairs."[73]

While Major Farmar weeks later was contending with the commandant at Arkansas Post over pilots and presents for the Indians, Pittman had time to look about him for a brief report to Gage on this French fort and the tiny village beside it:

"Description of the Post of Arcansas.

"The Fort is Situated Nine Miles up a small branch of the Missisipi which Surrounds an Island. The Rivers Arcansas and Blanche empty themselves into this Channel, the mouth of the former is twelve Miles from the Southern, and the latter Nine Miles from the Northern extremity of the Island. When the Missisippi is at its utmost height the Lands are overflow'd upwards of five feet for this reason all the buildings are rais'd Six feet from the Ground. The Fort is rais'd of Picquetts in a quadrangular form. The Exterior polygons are about 180 feet. There is one three pounder mounted in the faces & Flanks of every Bastion. The Buildings within the Fort are a Barrack of three rooms for the Soldiers. The Commanding Officers house, a Powder Magazine, and Magazine for the Provision and an apartment for the Commissary, all which are in a ruinous Condition. The Fort stands about two hundred Yards from the Water Side. It was formerly garrison'd by a Captain and fifty Men. There are Eight Houses without the Fort which are occupied by as many Families, who have Clear'd the Land about three-fourths of a Mile in Face, and about Nine hundred Yards in depth but on account of the overflowing of the River and the Sandiness of the Soil they do not rise on it their necessary provisions of the year The People Subsist mostly by hunting, and every Season Send to Orleans great quantities of Bears Oil, and Tallow, and Buffalo Meat and some Deer Skins. The Arcansas or Quapas Indians live three Leagues up the River, they are divided into three Villages, over each of which presides a Chief, and a great Chief over all—They are said to amount in all to about Six Hundred Warriors, who are reckoned amongst the bravest of the Southern Indians. They hunt little more than for their Common Subsistance, and are generally at War with other Nations to the Westward of them, as far as the river Bravo, and bring in very frequently horses and young Prisoners from the Padoquias, Panicos &ca., of which they dispose to the best Advantage. N.B., the extreme pts of the Island above mentd are five Leags & Bear N. of each other. The Mississippi surrounds it only when it is high at other times the Rivers Arcs and Blanche do not mix their waters with it 'till they arrive at the point of the Island."[74]

With these descriptions and the plan of Fort Rosalie at Natchez Pittman forwarded to General Gage on 17 December a plan of Fort Chartres which he had copied from a French plan obtained from an

unnamed engineer in New Orleans. "It is not so correct as any thing I should chuse to present to Your Excelly," he wrote, "however I thought it better to send it as it is, that you may have an Idea of it as soon as possible, than to defer it till the Spring, as till then the weather is too cold for me to begin a work of this sort."[75] He included with it a description of the fort as he first saw it.

"Description of Fort Chartres

"Fort Chartres is an irregular Quadrangle built of Stone and Commonly Plaistered over—is only intended as a defense from Savages the Walls being but two feet, two Inches thick and fifteen high, and is pierced all round with Loopholes at regular Distances and with port holes for Cannon in the faces, and two in the flanks of Each Bastion the Guns have never been fired, as the Walls have not Substance to bear the Shock, this Oblig'd the french to Mount two Guns over the Gate facing the River to fire on particular occasions and by this means have disfigured the principal Ornament of the Fort as they have broke away the Top of the Wall in two places by way of Enbrasures. The Ditch has never been finish'd it is just perceptable that one has been design'd. There is within the Wall a Small Banquett intended for the Men to Stand on to fire out of the Loop-holes, which is raise'd about three feet from the Surface. The Platforms for the Guns at the Bastions are intirely rotten. The Buildings within the Fort are the Commandants and Commissarys Houses, the Magazine of Stores & Provisions, the Corps de Guard, and two Barracks; The Walls of these Buildings are twenty one inches & a half thick, and occupy the Square. The Buildings within the Gorges of the Bastions are, The Powder Magazine the Bake House the Prison, and an Out House belonging to the Commandant. The Commandant's house is a building of thirty two yards long, and Ten broad it contains one Kitchen, one dining room, one Bed chamber, One Small Room; five Closets and a Cellar. The Commissarys house is built in the same Line as this, and its proportions & distribution of the appartments are the same. opposite this are the Store house and Guard house. they are each thirty Yards long and Eight Broad. the former consists of one Chamber a Dining Room, Closet, and two Store rooms, the latter of a Soldiers and Officers Guard Rooms, a Small Artillery Store room, one room and a Closet, and Store for Flour which was formerly a chapel. The Barracks which have never been finish'd are not sufficient for the Number of Troops originally intended to garrison this fort. they being design'd to have consisted of three Rooms more each, and a passage, at present they consist only of three Rooms each for the Soldiers, and two for the Officers. They are good Spacious Rooms of about twenty two feet Square, and betwixt them a Small Passage. There are fine spacious Lofts over each Building which extends to the Extremities and have been made use of to lodge different Stores.

"Its generally thought by the French that the Fort will not stand another year because the bank of the River is continually falling in being worn away by the rapidity of the Currant, which had been turn'd from its former Course by a Sand bank, which is now increased to a Considerable Island cover'd with Willows. Many experiments have been try'd to prevent this growing ill, but to no purpose—they still think that if a Channel was cut through the Island, it would be a means of Saving the Fort—but this would be a work of time and great expence. When the Fort was begun it was fifteen arpents from the Waterside, it is now but eighty paces. The Island is betwixt five and six hundred yards from the Fort. In the year 1756 it was but a very small Distance and the Channel fordable. it has been Continually increasing ever since. the main body of the Mississippi now moves through it, and it is very deep."

At Fort Chartres Pittman was not encouraged to attempt the completion of his chart of the Mississippi as far as the Missouri—perhaps the weather made it impractical. After some clash he did obtain from Farmar orders to visit the different places depending on the fort in order that an account of them might be sent to the general at the "next opportunity." On 17 December he wrote to headquarters that he was "immediately going on this service." Within the next ten weeks he accomplished this portion of his mission, for on 24 February 1766 he was able to send descriptions of all the establishments in the British Illinois as well as of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve on the still-French west bank of the Mississippi. His route and dates of travel remain unknown but it is reasonable to assume that he followed the long-established road first south to Kaskaskia and Ste. Genevieve and then north to Cahokia and St. Louis.

Of the village of Ste. Anne de Fort Chartres (which Farmar now designated Cavendish Village), Pittman had nothing to report. Eventually, in his book, he noted that in 1764 it had had about forty families with a parish church served by a Franciscan friar, but that when the English took possession all except three or four poor families had abandoned their houses and moved to the French villages across the Mississippi.[76]

Not far from the village of Ste. Anne Pittman would have come to the smaller but thriving settlement of Prairie du Rocher, which he called "Prairie des Rochés." This place, he wrote,

"is a small village consisting of 12 dwelling houses, all which are inhabited, in the middle of the Village is a small Chappel, formerly a Chappel of ease to the church of St. Anne de Fort de Chartre. the Inhabitants here are industrious, and raise a great deal of Corn, and evry kind of stock. This Village is a small League from Fort Cavendish and lies in the road to Cascasquias, it takes its name from

its standing beneath a high Rock which is about a League from the Missippi and runs parallel to it near 40 Leagues up. The Savages of the Country have a tradition that the Missisippi formerly ran close to the Rock."

Continuing for fifteen miles down the road winding at the foot of the bluff the lieutenant would have come next to the town of Kaskaskia, the largest settlement in the Illinois Country. He reported that

"The Village of Notre Dame de Cascasquias is by far the most considerable settlement in the Country of Illinois as well from the number of its inhabitants, as from its advantageous situation. it stands on the side of a small River which is about 80 yards across, its source is North Westerly about 100 Leagues from the Village and 15 Leagues Easterly of the remarkable Rock of Peorya,[77] and it empties itself with a gentle current into the Missisippi at about 2 Leagues below the Village. This river is a secure port for large Battoes which can lie so close to the bank as to load and unload without the least trouble, and there is water enough at all seasons of the year for them to come up; it must be observed here that it is extreemly dangerous for battoes or boats to remain in the Missisippi, on account of the banks falling in, and the vast number of Loggs and trees which are sent down with a violent force by the rapidity of the current, as also on account of the heavy gusts of wind to which this climate is subject. another great advantage that the Village of Cascasquias reaps from the river, is the facillity with which mills for corn and planks may be erected on it, and which of course would greatly diminish the price of these commodities. One Monsr Paget however was the first that attempted to render this usefull piece of service to the country, and he had constructed one of each sort, when himself and two of his negroes who were working in them were kill'd by the Cherokies about two years ago. The mills are but a very small distance from the Village, since this accident ev'ry body has been afraid to make use of them.

"The Village takes up a Deal of ground and the houses are very much scattered, ev'ry inhabitant having rather consider'd personal convenience, than the necessity of proximity in a place liable to the depredations of the Savages. The losses they have sufferd of late from the Indians both in horses and horn'd cattle as well as the personal insults offer'd to them, has made them see their error. The Principal Buildings are the church and Jesuits house which has a small chappel adjoining. these, as well as some other houses are built of stone and considering this part of the world make a tolerable appearance. The Jesuits plantation consists of 240 Arpens, which with the rest of their effects was sold to a Monsr Beauvais who is thought to be the richest man in our part of this country; he has

furnish'd to the King's Magazine 86,000 wt of Flour which is part of a harvest he has reap'd in one year. There are 65 families actually residing in the village besides Merchants and other casual people, Slaves &c.

"The Fort stands on the opposite side of the River on the summit of a Rock, to the top of which one ascends with a gradual slope, which is about 300 yards from the Top to the Bottom. The Fort is an oblongular Quadrangle of which the interior Polygon measures 290 by 251 feet. The side facing the Village stands parallel to the Course of the River, N and S. the other sides which are the longest run NE by E. The Fort is commanded by musquetry from rising grounds both to the NW and NE. The ditch is 25 feet wide and about 4 feet deep, the top of the parapet is 8 feet 6 inches from the bottom of the Ditch and 4 feet and 1 inch wide, the rampart is 4 feet 8 inches in hight and 14:9 in breadth. there is one embrasure in the faces, and flanks of each bastion. there are two opposite gates which open to the NW and SE, in the Center of the Curtins. The one to the NW has a draw bridge before it, which remains drawn up. The only buildings within the Fort, are one Barrack containing three rooms, and a Kitchen built within the Gorge of the SW Bastion, Neither these or the Fort have ever been finish'd. Casasquias is 6 Leagues by land and 10 by water from Fort Cavendish."

Of the "state and condition of the fort" Pittman added briefly: "nothing [is] remaining of the barracks and Kitchen but the frame, Roof, and shingle covering. No platforms to mount the guns on the SE Bastion fallen down most of the Planks and some timbers of the Parapet rotten, Locks and keys wanting to the Gates. the Ditch, Parapet, and Ramparts entirely overgrown with bushes."

Judging it proper to his survey of the condition of the Illinois Country, Pittman next ferried over the Mississippi to Ste. Genevieve. He found it crowded with people who had fled Kaskaskia since they had learned of the cession to the English. He informed Gage that

"St Genevieuve or misere had its first establishment about 20 [28?n years ago by an Inhabitant of Cascasquias, who through poverty was oblig'd to remove, thinking to better his circumstances by industry and being at a distance from any temptation of expence. the only thing I think that could have made him fix on this place for his residence, is the convenience of the carrying place from Cascasquias which without doubt has given the greatest facillity to the establishment of the Village, this carrying place cuts off 6 Leagues in distance by water as Sainte Genevieuve is 4 Leagues above the River Cascasquias. The goodness of the Soil, and the plentiful Harvests determin'd many others in some years after to cross the Mississippi and settle with him, thus by degrees this Village has rose to be of some consideration. The Principal Inhabitant is one Monsr Valet

who may be justly esteem'd the richest Inhabitant in the Country of the Illinois, he rises a great quantity of Corn, and supplies the french Kings Magazines with evry kind of Provisions, he has 100 negroes continually employ'd besides hired people, he has also mills for Corn and Planks, which have succeeded perfectly well. The Village is near 1/2 a League in length and contains about 40 houses and many more families, they being crowded two and three in a house. a great many having pass'd over from the different Villages on the English side on the cession of the Country. here is a parish Church which is served by a Jesuit, the only priest in the Country; there is a Salt spring and a work carried on at it one League below the Village and a le[a]d mine which supplies all the Country with shott at 15 Leagues Distance."

Retracing his steps Pittman set out again from Fort Chartres on the road to Cahokia. A few miles north he reached the village of St. Phillippe in which only one inhabitant remained. Briefly he reported to the general:

"Ste Phillippe [*sic*] is a small Village about 5 miles from Fort Cavendish, in the Road to Caoquias there are about 16 Houses and a small church stands at the N. end of the Village. the Captain of Militia is the only inhabitant remaining in the Village. he has built two water mills for Corn and planks but they have not succeeded, owing to the want of skill in the workmen. This Inhabitant if encouraged, would from his industry be of some service to the Country. the Village stands in a fine meadow about one Quarter of a League from the Mississippi."

Soon the road passed to the top of the bluffs and continued on the high ground nearly to Cahokia, the northernmost and the oldest of the Illinois towns. Of it Pittman wrote that

"The Village of Sainte Famille de Kaoquias is usually reckon'd 15 Leagues from Fort Cavendish and 6 Leagues below the Mouth of the Missoury, it stands near the bank of the Missisippi and is mask'd from that River by an Island that is near 1/2 a League in breadth, the extremities of which are a League each from the Village, which is long and stragling, being above 1/2 a mile from one end to the other, it contains 45 dwelling houses and a church which stands near its center. The situation is far from being well chosen as the Missisippi at the time of the Freshes [?] frequently overflows it 2 or 3 feet; this land was formerly purchased of the Savages by some Canadians, who settled amongst them, and others who came after fixd on the same spot for the sake of neighbourhood, thus the village was insensibly form'd notwithstanding so material an inconvenience. The inhabitants depend much more on their Indian Trade and hunting

than on Agriculture as they scarcely raise corn enough to subsist them. they rear a good deal of poultry and some good stocks of horn'd cattle. The only Plantation of any note is that which belongs to the Mission of Saint Sulpice. It consists of 240 Acres of Land and has an excellent Stone House Built on it. there are also two water mills one for Planks and one for corn belonging to the said Mission, but owing to the ignorance of the undertaker in making the Dams, they cannot be made use of. The building call'd the Fort is near the center of the Village, and differs in nothing from the other houses except in its being one of the poorest, it was formerly enclosed with picquets, of which, at present, not one remains. A Fort here would be of little consequence as it could neither annoy an enemy or protect the inhabitants."

From Cahokia curiosity and military concern took him over the Mississippi to St. Louis, which had been founded on 15 February 1764:

"About 1 League and a half above the Caoquias and on the opposite side of the Missippi stands the Village of St Louis, commonly call'd pain Court which was settled about 2 Years ago by those Merchants who were form'd into a particular company by Monsr D'Abbadie who granted to them the sole Commerce of the Nations of the Missoury and for the further security of this settlement the French Staff of officers were order'd to remove to it on the rend'ring Fort Chartres to the English, and these drew the greatest part of the Inhabitants of the Village of Ste Anne de Fort de Chartres with them. there are about 40 houses already built and as many famillies residing there besides the French Garrison which consists of a Captain Commandant and 2 Lieutts 1 Serjt & 1 Corporal and 20 men."[78]

VIII

Although Pittman after many frustrations and delays had at last been able to accomplish some part of his special mission, his relations with Major Farmar during the passage up the Mississippi and at the Illinois continued to be exceedingly unsatisfactory. According to the lieutenant Farmar's "extraordinary perseverance in persecuting" him had been unceasing. Not only had he, in the court of inquiry at Point Richmond, thrown an "odious light" on Pittman's adverse report on the clearing of the Iberville and upbraided Lieutenant Sedgwick for taking the affidavits of Pittman's soldiers in support of his charges, but he had told Lieutenant Henry that "no officer of the Regt ought to keep me Company as I had used the Corps ill in accusing Captn Campbell" and "on our passage up the Mississippi he had spared no pains to render ev'ry thing

disagreeable" to the engineer, accusing him of "wanting to retard the expedition" and loading him "with continual contempt and reproach." When Pittman had written to him in protest, Farmar had torn up his letters without deigning to read them.

After the arrival at the Illinois, Farmar had been "equally assiduous" in expressing his discontent wilh Pittman. On 13 December he had written sharply to the engineer (communication between them seems to have been almost wholly by letter) that "as by your Conduct and Conversation you have manifested not only your opinion but resolution to Act in the Capacity you was sent here upon, entirely independant of my Orders, I now only have to Desire to know wether you intend Sending General Gage a plan and Description of this Fort in order that I may refer his Excellency to it, or employ another hand to do it." This provoked Pittman to an immediate sharp reply that he was "busily Employ'd" in preparing his report to the general but that if the major knew "any person more capable of discharging" his duty, he would "without reluctance return to New York."[79]

During the first months in the Illinois Farmar had permitted Pittman to continue with his special duties in surveying forts and reporting the conditions of the villages, but had refused him the assignment to oversee the "publick works." In plain words the major had said to him that he did not consider Pittman "as an Engineer or employ'd in that Capacity, but only as a Surveyor to take the Plan of the river and the Fort." The lieutenant protested this to Gage on 24 February: "as I imagine it was your Excellency's intention when you appointed me as Engineer in this Country that I should do the Duty, I cannot but think it incumbent on me to inform you that Major Farmar has manifestly employ'd Captain Campbell in my department."

The lieutenant compounded his offence by alleging impropriety in the letting of a contract for the building of a smith's shop (he managed to obtain a copy on the document from the *notaire* who had drawn it up) and by his insistence on being paid in bills on the English treasury for a slave he sold, a matter which involved Farmar's credit standing.[80] In turn Farmar countered with refusing to permit Pittman to take possession of a deserted house in the village which he attempted to buy from the guardian of some orphans who owned it.

This "series of Ill usages full of the most ineffable contempt and most severe tho' unmerited reproaches" from Farmar was brought to a climax on 13 March when he ordered Pittman in arrest, charged with "disobedience of orders, sedition, stopping the public works, and hurting his [Farmar's] credit."[81]

For his part Major Farmar wrote to Gage on 18 March that he had "been under the necessity of putting Lieut Pittman of the 15th

Regiment in arrest, for disobedience of orders & obstructing the service of the Government, and seditious behaviour." He asserted that Pittman had bought the abandoned house "without first having obtained his permission," an act in contempt of Captain Stirling's prohibition. Pittman had also "detered the Inhabitants of Cavendish Village from entering into a Contract with me for supplying the Garrison for Firing and Candles erecting a Shed for Smith's forge, making bedsteads for the Soldiers and repairing such things about the Officers and Soldiers Barracks, as there was an immediate necessity of having done, telling the Inhabitants that the whole Works and every other Expence here, excepting provisions, firewood and Candles was his, and his affair only, that all Contracts was made by the Engineer and approved of by the commanding Officer and signed by the undertakers, if they were not done in that manner they wou'd not be paid, and the undertakers wou'd be looked on as Villains, he has likewise attempted to discredit the Bills of Exchange I was under the necessity of drawing on New York for the Governments service, as the Contractors credit was disputed by some of the Inhabitants to whom I was obliged to promise payment for what provisions they furnished for the use of the Troops; this is endeavouring to subvert all Government & stop the public credit. This behaviour in an Officer is not only seditious in its consequences, but in reflecting such base insinuations & contempt on a Commanding Officer, depreciating his Character and Interests that in common law among private persons it is most severly punished, but how fatal are the consequences to a person acting in the Capacity of a chief Magistrate, & that among people strangers to our Country and its happy Constitution, is it not impressing[?] a most villainous opinion and Idea in their minds to the prejudice of the person who is so unhappy from his rank in the Army and the situation of affairs to become Commandant where there is no civil Judicature established or in force; what conceptions must the French Inhabitants have of the English Government, if every discontented incendiary can introduce inovasions in the administration, and with impunity detract, defame and most basely vilify his Superior as an Officer whose Command he is immediately under; I therefore intend bringing Lieut Pittman to a General Court Martial when Colonel Reed arrives."

John Reed of the 34th Regiment, the new commandant of the Illinois Country, reached the fort about the middle of May. On the 22nd Pittman was brought before a general court-martial and formally "accused of Disobedience of orders, obstructing the service of the Government, attempting to stop the public credit, disrespectfull behaviour to Major Farmar, and depreciating his character as Commandant." Before the hearing began, however, Pittman pointed out that "there are many of the Gentlemen who compose this Court,

whom he must be obliged hereafter to call upon as Evidences in Vindication of himself . . . He is particularly obliged to object against Captn Lt Campbell siting as a Member as it is very possible that he shall hereafter be obliged to prosecute him on the part of the Crown, relative to the clearing of the River Ibberville." After discussion *in camera* it was agreed that the proceedings "could not go forward" and Colonel Reed of necessity dissolved the court, but did not dismiss the charges.[82]

While in confinement Pittman had finished the long-promised copy of his draft of the Mississippi to Fort Chartres and sent it, with a plan of the fort, to General Gage in May. Now, with the indefinite postponement of his trial he looked forward to resumption of normal life. "Colonel Reed assures me," he wrote to Gage on 18 June, "that immediately after the departure of Major Farmar I shall do my duty [as engineer] 'till Your Excellys pleasure is known, this I hope will allow me to make some amends for my late forced inactivitty."[83]

On 20 August Captain Harry Gordon, sent by General Gage on an inspection mission, arrived at Fort Chartres. He found the fort, as Pittman had reported,

"in danger of being undermined by the Mississippi, whose Eastern Bord is already within 26 Yards of the Point of the S.W. Bastion. The Bank I found thirty Feet high, Sandy with small Gravel (very uncommon Soil for the Banks of this River, that are mostly Mud or fat Clay) and perpendicular; so that the crumbling occasion'd by Frost, would demolish in a little Time this small Space before the Bastion. When we took Possession of this Fort the River was above 100 Yds Distance, & before that, the French who foresaw its Approach had expended much Labour & Money to try to prevent it; They fascined and piled the Banks, but the Torrent soon got Passage behind them. Had they brought the Banks to a large Slope, retired those of a gravelly Kind so as to have an Eddy on them in Flood Time; drove a Number of Button Wood short Stakes in the Slope, which immediately take Root, and got together floating Trees and any Thing else of that Kind the Floods bring down, made those fast at the Point where the Stream divides to come by the Fort & round the Island opposite to it;This last might have averted the Strength of the Current towards the Western Bank, and by stopping the Rubbish that comes along with the Floods have formed a Bar at the Point; The gravelly Banks would not have resisted the Flood, an Eddy would have laid upon them; nor would there have been any Ressistance to the Current at Bottom, whose Effect would have thereby been diminished. Upon these Principles I gave Instructions to Lieut Pitman Assist Engineer at this Post to proceed. The ruin of the Fort was inevitable next Spring without doing something, But a part at least may be saved at a small Expence to lodge the Garrison till other Measures are resolved

on. The Sickly State of the Troops did not allow of getting any Number to work during my Stay, nor was the Water low enough or the Heats abated to make much Work otherwise adviseable."[84]

Accompanied by Lieutenant Pittman and Ensign Thomas Hutchins, Gordon "proceeded the 28 to view the Country upwards." Because his boatmen were very tired, the party went by land to Cahokia. There they received an invitation from Captain St. Ange to visit St. Louis where they spent the 30th and 31st, but Gordon was disappointed in his hope to see the Missouri and Illinois Rivers. They retraced their steps to Fort Chartres on 2 September "Some Days were employed in visiting and directing Lieut Pitman in the Work he was set about, and Composing Instructions regarding his viewing the Country towards the Illinois River, and likewise that on the other Hand to the Ohio and the old Post of Massiac."[85]

The inspector from headquarters surveys a situation and determines what should be done to accomplish the ends desired. The commanding officer in the field decides what he can do with the forces available. The operating officer must get along as best he can between them. Apparently few of Captain Gordon's instructions were carried out. The "sickly condition of the Garrison and other circumstances which Coll Reed I imagine will report to you," Pittman wrote to Gage on 20 November, "prevented my execution of the design" to stop the encroachment of the river. The blockhouse at Cahokia which Gordon had thought essential to protect the fur trade had not been built. Pittman had not been allowed to "visit the entrance to the river Illinois and determine a spot for a Fort" intended to prevent French traders from visiting English tribes. He had not been permitted to go "to Fort Massiac on the Ohio by *Land*, in order to describe the communications betwixt that place and Cascasquias." He could only report to General Gage that Colonel Reed had stopped him from going to these places and eventually would learn that Gage had been sorry he had not visited them according to orders but supposed Reed "had some very Material reasons for preventing its being done," although the commandant had not mentioned them in his letters. Of his special duties the only accomplishment of record was the completion of "copys of Sections and Elevations at Fort Chartrex and a survey of Cascasquias made by order to Coll Reed."[86]

Pittman had not taken lightly being brought to court-martial. The "long series of injurious persecutions and affronts" which Major Farmar until the "last moment of his power" had "heap'd" upon him had led him at the first opportunity after the arrival of Colonel Reed to accuse Farmar of "having been wanting to the interest of His King and Country and behaving in a manner unbecoming the character of a Gentleman." He supported this charge with sixteen articles of

accusation and listed the fellow officers and persons at New Orleans who would be called upon to give evidence. This document with Pittman's letter of 18 June to the commanding general was immediately forwarded to New York.

General Gage was more than a little annoyed by all this bickering between two officers far from headquarters. On 7 July, replying to Pittman's of 24 February 1766, he assured the lieutenant that "I certainly appointed you to be Engineer, and shou'd disapprove very much of any Persons interfering in Your Department, or preventing you from Exercising Your Employment, and by your Representation it wou'd appear as if Major Farmar had done so." But, he continued, "on the other hand the Major makes complaints of Your Behaviour, reports You to Me as being in Arrest by his Orders, and that he intends bringing you to a General Court Martial; from these different Representations I know not what Judgment to form and must wait the Decision of the Court Martial, which tho' a Method very disagreeable to Me, is the only one I can see of clearing up Matters so variously represented, as those in question betwixt you and the Major." Pittman's letter of 20 March brought from Gage on 6 October the sharp comment that the letters inclosed "Should have been sent, tho' detained for the reasons given, in December *1764* and Jany *1765*. They would [have] appeared much better at that Time, than they do now."

Finally (15 December 1766), Gage commented severely on the manner in which Pittman had made his counter-charges against Farmar. In looking over the accusations the general noted that "a great part of them are relative to His Conduct during his Command at Mobile, which you must have been acquainted with at the time, and which[,] had the Motives of Justice and Duty to your King and Country only actuated you, you wou'd at that time have represented, more especially, as the Crimes are of so heinous a Nature, 'as being wanting to the Interest of His King and Country.' As Disputes have gone so far betwixt the Major and You, and that your tryal demanded by him has only been Occasionally delayed, I can't but observe to You, Your Accusations are ill timed and have not the weight, they wou'd of course have had, if preferred at another time."

Pittman (10 February 1767) attempted to defend his procedure by pointing out his junior status which made him hesitate to "discover" the faults of his superior officer and by citing the advice of a friend in New York (consulted by mail) who had recommended "an oblivion of injuries that he thought did not demand such high resentment." It had only been Farmar's continuing attempts to throw a "dark shade" over all his actions, "the pains he took to hurt me by an unparalleled court of enquiry, and the little methods he made use of to the last moment of his power to make me unhappy" that had led Pittman at last to send all his charges to Gage. But the general was not

impressed by his arguments. He was equally displeased with major and with lieutenant.

Major Farmar, it will be recalled, had had difficulties with Governor George Johnstone of West Florida from the time that official arrived in November 1764—their disputes over power had resulted in Johnstone bringing charges against him in the following year. This matter hung fire for long. On 14 August 1766 Gage wrote to Brigadier General Taylor at Pensacola that Farmar had been "ordered long since to be tried, not on any right it was thought the Govenr had to demand his tryal but as he was accused of Crimes which no Officer that was guilty of, Should remain in the Service, and Major Farmar must from his own Sentiments of Honor, desire his Character to be Cleared, from such aspersions, I flatter myself He will on a publick hearing wipe off all Suspicions of Defrauding the Publick, and that I shall be able to assure the King and His Ministers of the false Accusations Exhibited against him."[87]

By his charges Pittman had become a principal witness against Farmar. General Gage, writing on 6 October, was "somewhat surprised that, since Farmar had gone south to be tried "for Crimes alledged against him by Governor Johnstone, many of them the very same of which you accuse him, that neither You, or any of the rest of the Gentlemen who have lately made complaints against the Major, have not gone as evidences against him at his tryal, which I Should be Glad you had done, if You could prove anything, or even that you would do it now, if not too late." This statement Pittman took as authority to go to Florida. On 10 February 1767 he responded: "I shall seize the first opportunity of going there, which I cannot do immediately as the Mississippi is froze over. I hope to be back at this post in the month of September or October at the latest."

He probably left near the end of the month, for the ice broke up on the 20th.[88] During this passage downriver he had an opportunity to make a further report on the fort at Natchez which he found

"in but a very indifferent condition, as most of the works are giving way, and all with out side the Fort were burnt by the Indians in 1766. The repairs which have been made are only temporary and of a short duration, as on the taking possession no artificers, or materials were sent up. The ditch requires a new fence round it, and the planks and posts of the enceinte of the Fort are rotten, and this work should be made anew, the gates were destroy'd in the Fire above mention'd and are not yet replaced. The ovens, made of clay by our troops since they took possession though they serve the present purpose are far from being solid, the reservoir of water which is about three hundred yards from the Fort, and which is of the utmost consequence to the garrison should be either lined with new masonry, or good timber, as the old work is much decay'd. The Barracks within the Fort are not sufficient

for the Officers men and Stores, and are in a very indifferent condition wanting Floors & new covering; the Chimneys are of wooden frames fill'd with clay, and are very subject to catch fire, it is absolutely necessary that they should be built with bricks. The powder Magazine is too small and is made of wood, it is in ev'ry respect unfit for the reception of powder. The road leading to the Fort from the *Missisippi* is too steep, and it would be of great convenience to the post if a good one was made along the slope, which would be a work of much labour.

"I think the materials except lime or Iron work should be manufactured on the Spot, and Carts should be made for transporting them and horses got from the Choctaws or bought from the Inhabitants of Pelousas or Natchitoches at the rate of about 20 Dollars each.[89]

Pittman also reported briefly on Fort Bute, newly constructed at Point Iberville to replace the post abandoned in August 1765 and destroyed by Indians.

"The post of the Ibberville has nothing but the enceinte of Stockades that is good. There are no Barracks and both Officers and Soldiers are at present lodged in very bad huts. 'Tho good Barracks might be made at a very moderate expence as the timber is close at hand and nothing but the necessary Iron work is wanted. Bricks might be made on the Spot and Lime on the Lake Maurepas and carried from thence to the mouth of the Ibberville at a more reasonable rate than from New Orleans, when once the road from the Forks is compleated.

"The Garrison is in the greatest want of all kind of Tools, particularly Bill-hooks and hand hatchetts, to clear the bushes and Canes away which have overrun the Land which was once clear'd at a great expence and this contributes greatly to the sickness of the Troops in the summer season. It is especially necessary that a bank of two feet high should be raised along the Side of the Missisippi and Ibberville, as these Rivers overflow the Lands almost ev'ry year."[90]

General Gage had intended for Pittman to return to the Illinois after testifying at the court martial: "as Soon as possible after Major Farmar's Trial is over, if He Should not accuse, and demand a Court Martial upon You," he wrote from New York, "You will Embark for this Place, which appears to me to be the Shortest way to the Illinois, unless you find an immediate Opportunity offers to go from Pensacola, & are certain You can get there Sooner by going up the Mississippi, than to come this way." Awaiting Pittman was the possibility of building a new fort to replace Fort Chartres. "The Intended Fort You mention to have laid out at the Ilinois," wrote the general, "Capt Gordon will Send You directions about. The Place

where the old French Fort Stood, seems to be the properest to Erect a new one upon, but not of Earth, which is so liable to be washed away by Rains, and Destroyed by Frost, and to Occasion Continual Repairs, nor of Wood, which we know now by Experience to be but of a Short Standing, and the best & Shortest Method will be to Stockade it. Whatever materials may remain of the Fort began by the French, may be of Service in the Construction of a new one, when it shall be found absolutely necessary; Likewise many things may be found of use in Fort Chartres when it happens that the place shall become tenable no longer from the near approach of the water."[91]

But Pittman did not return to the Illinois.[92]

IX

For the last year and a half of his service in America Pittman remained in Florida awaiting the call to appear at the court-martial of Major Farmar—and at his own. During these months at Pensacola General Haldimand occasionally used him on special projects. On 12 June he was sent with George Gauld, a surveyor employed by the admiralty, to prepare a "plan of the Appalachees." On his return, some time before 5 August, he submitted written reports on "the Fort at Appalachy & the Look-out Tower" (across the river from Fort St. Marc) and on "the Face of the Country" at this post. Included with them were plans of the fort and a map of the environs ("a Genl Sketch of the Country" as far as he had seen it). Apparently they traveled by boat from Pensacola to St. Marks, for the attached descriptions of the road from Pensacola to Appalachy and its continuation to St. Augustine were based on hearsay. For the first section of the land route he had obtained his information "by Interrogating some Indians & Traders who have travelled these Roads & they did not differ materially in their Accounts." The description of the eastern portion of the road he had taken from "ye Journal of a Gentleman who had travelled the Road & [it] was confirmed to me by the Accts given by three other Persons." A further paper gave a list of Indian villages on the Appalachicola River compiled from informations furnished by "one Simpson a man well acquainted with the Nation & of a Trader of ye Nation they both agree as to the Distances of ye Villages but differ in accts of the No of Warriors."[93]

Early in September Haldimand sent Pittman with Captain J. Marsh to New Orleans in one more attempt to induce the proposed witnesses against Farmar to attend the court-martial. The response was still the same. Foucault would not come without an order from the French Court. Maxent, reputed the leading merchant of New Orleans, like the other merchants, would not leave his business without adequate recompense. Army officers would not take an oath

in any court whatsoever, but would only give their word of honor. There was no French law, they all declared, which obliged either merchants or officers to attend such a court. Captain Marsh, who had other inquiries to make for an intelligence report, went back alone to Pensacola. Pittman returned with Captain Disnay (Denny), commandant at Iberville, who bought a small schooner to transport supplies from New Orleans to the English headquarters. They left on 8 October by way of Lake Pontchartrain.[94]

General Haldimand soon found another way in which to make use of Pittman. On 16 November he ordered him to

"proceed Immediately to Mobile & Embark on board a Batteaux now lying there, ready to go to Tombecby. In your way up you must make a Survey of that River and Communication, marking down the Breadth of the River, depth of Water and particularly the Shoals, which may any way obstruct the Passage of Batteaux.

"You must also mark all the branches of the River in the Plan, with the breadth of their Entrances, & the Nature of its Banks must be noted, whether high, low or Swampy land, and Endeavour to make yourself well acquainted of the Possibility to march troops along its banks, so as Effectually to cover & protect Batteaux on their way up. You must often Land and Examine into the Country, particularly where any Deep Morasses may be; that you may inform yourself of their Extent inland from the River, and by observing the marks on the trees, you may very near guess to what hight the Water increases in the Rainy Season.

"Shoud you meet any Indians in your way, take care they do not inform themselves of what you are about.

"After your arrival at the Post of Tombecby, you are without creating any Suspicion, to make what inquiry you can, what obstructions & difficulty wou'd attend the Marching of Troops from Tombecby to fort Allibamons, and what difficulty would attend the passing with Batteaux, and marching of troops to Escort them, by that branch of the River below Tombecby, which leads to Fort Allibamons, you must commit every thing to Writing, which Carries the appearance of truth, and which you Judge to be good Intelligence.

"Mr Charles Stewart [Stuart]Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs will be assisting to you in every particular. As soon as this duty is performed, you are to return here by Water, without loss of time to correct your Plan."[95]

The detachment which had been occupying Tombecbé reached Mobile with Pittman and Stuart by mid-January. At the close of February Haldimand wrote to Gage that the map of the river had been executed with care and that it would be forwarded to New York at the first opportunity. Neither the map nor the written report has been located.[96]

After the failure in September 1767 to obtain witnesses from New Orleans for the Farmar trial, Haldimand had determined to proceed without them,. He finally assembled sufficient officers for a court, which sat in mid-March of the new year. A month later this "conseil de guerre" completed its sittings, the proceedings forming a volume of 170 pages "de grand papier," which was forwarded to New York.[97] Since the 34th Regiment was now on duty in Pennsylvania, Haldimand ordered both Farmar and Pittman to New York. Neither, however, left Florida at this time. Farmar on 20 April asked Haldimand's permission to remain in Florida until a final judgment in his case had been reached. Gage forwarded the file to England for top level decision—Farmar was not to have word of his clearance of charges until the next year.[98]

Just at this time Gage was writing from New York that the 15th Regiment (from which Pittman had been detached five years) was to be relieved and that the lieutenant should be sent to New York. A month later Gage repeated to Haldimand that if Farmar wished, after his court-martial was over, to "come this way," he might have a court assembled to try Pittman "if he chuses to prosecute that Affair as he once determined to do." This suggestion was repeated by Haldimand to Farmar two months later. Since there is no documentation in the Gage or Haldimand correspondence to indicate it, Farmar must have felt the cost in time and money to prosecute Pittman in New York was not worth a possible condemnation of the younger man. Farmar himself was to leave the army and to settle permanently in West Florida. The latest word of Pittman in America is a pay warrant in the Engineer Department at New York which shows he was paid £297/12- for services as assistant engineer from 21 March 1767 to 31 July 1768 at 12 shillings per diem.[99]

It is to be presumed that Pittman sailed to New York in the latter part of 1768 and that he returned to England with his regiment.

X

On his arrival in England Pittman prepared an extended report on "the present state of the European settlements on the Mississippi" for the Colonial Office. Perhaps he volunteered his services to the Earl of Hillsborough. Perhaps his "ingenious friend governor Johnstone"[100] recommended him as a man to be consulted about that distant boundary of English territory. Probably he was already well known to home officials, for both the Colonial Office and the War Office had been informed in 1764 of his selection for a special mission to the Illinois.[101] It is certain that the declaration in his preface that the book was "originally wrote at the request, and for the perusal only, of the secretary of state for the colonies" was not

a mere assertion to arouse public interest or to claim official approval for his work.

Its very contents establish the fact of Pittman's access to state papers. He had left Florida before the Revolution of 29 October 1768.[102] Where did he obtain the copy of the *Arret de la Cour Superieure de la Province* and the accompanying documents, one of which bears a date as late as 2 November? His last known visit to New Orleans was in October 1767. Yet in his account of that place he devoted pp. 18-20 to a relation of the arrival of the Spanish forces in August 1769, specifically citing his old rival, Captain Campbell, as an eye-witness source and, in fact, quoted word for word (though, in the custom of the day, without benefit of quotation marks) from Campbell's letter to Gage, begun at New Orleans on 17 August, a copy of which Gage forwarded to Hillsborough on 7 October. Where would Pittman have had access to this letter save in the Secretary's files? No doubt pp. 20-22 on the trial and execution were written from other letters to Gage from West Florida, forwarded in their turn to Hillsborough, or from officials there directly to the Secretary.[103]

The paper for Hillsborough went considerably beyond the field reports to Gage. Pittman had been asked, obviously, for an extended intelligence briefing on the entire Mississippi Valley. The reports to Gage, which he printed with some slight corrections and a few additional facts picked up after their dispatch to New York, formed only a part of the book-length manuscript upon which he was engaged. He drew heavily on his private papers and on the observations accumulated over five years of residence during which he had "enjoyed an acquaintance with the principal inhabitants." Thus he was able to give the English world its first survey of the Mississippi Valley, illuminated with his own "plans and draughts" which included the first map of the Mississippi River made by an Englishman who had been there.[104]

The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi was published by J. Nourse at 6 shillings late in 1770. The *London Magazine* in December listed it among new publications and commented briefly that it was "an article of importance, executed with considerable judgement and fidelity." The London *Monthly Review* in January 1771 (XLIV, 9-12), though not enthusiastic about Pittman's style, devoted four friendly pages to the book:

"The European settlements on the river Mississippi comprehend Louisiana, part of West Florida, and the country of the Illinois. In these countries, the Author of the work before us, resided during several years; and, as he was employed in surveying and exploring their interior parts, and was acquainted with many of the more intelligent of their inhabitants, he has been enabled to exhibit an

account of them, which is accurate and worthy of attention. The relations of Charlevoix on this subject, though he is by no means an injudicious writer, are extremely incomplete, and of little authority; as he had not leisure from his rapid progress through these countries, to authenticate his materials from his own personal knowledge. Our Author appears to have informed himself with more care; and the candour, which is so apparent in his work, will not permit the most scrupulous reader to suspect his veracity.

"This performance was not originally intended for publication. It was written at the request, and for the perusal only, of the secretary of state for the colonies. On this account, the composition and method of our Author ought not to be too severely criticised. His work has certainly the good effect to remove in part those unjust reports concerning the climate of West Florida, which retarded the settlement of that country, and the matter it contains must, in general, be allowed to be interesting and important. If we cannot commend his narration and his style, we must yet observe, that he has every where expressed himself with perspicuity.

". . . we must remark, that the draughts and plans, which illustrate this work, appear to be executed with great exactness and taste.[105]"

Two contemporary writers, at least, made significant use of the book. The Chevalier de Champigny in *La Louisiane Ensanglantée* (1773) quoted twice from Pittman's account of the New Orleans revolution, reprinting a lengthy document from it.[106] In the preface to his *Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West-Florida* (1784) Thomas Hutchins acknowledged having *"had recourse, describing some parts of the Mississippi, to the publication of Captain* Pitman, *who resided many years on that river, and was well acquainted with the country through which it flows."* And well might this geographer have said thank you to his old acquaintance, for a very large part of his text is lifted word for word from Pittman without benefit of quotation marks.[107]

The few remaining years of Pittman's life have no bearing on his American experiences. Possibly because he had been sharply reproved in the conclusions of the Farmar courtmartial, possibly because he saw better opportunities in the far East, he resigned from the army after his return to England, obtained a captaincy in the East India Company's service, went out to Madras as an engineer, married Honora Dawkes there in 1772, and died at Vizagapatam in 1775.[108]

His firsthand report on the Mississippi Valley in the 1760s remains his monument, for it is a document of enduring importance.

Notes to Introduction

[1]The author did have the journal kept by Captain Bond of the *Carolina* galley, who had been dispatched by the elder Dr. Coxe to explore the Mississippi in 1699, but Bond had ascended no higher than the bend below present New Orleans, where the Sieur de Bienville persuaded or forced him to turn back—hence the place name *Detour des Anglais*. General Phineas Lyman of Connecticut in 1766 declared he was in possession of the Bond journal, but its location today is unknown. *See* Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 48-60; Frégault, *Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville*, 214-216; Lyman to Shelburne (then secretary of State for the Southern Department), London, 28, 31 October 1766, *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 401-421. It is interesting to note in Lyman's letters that the printed sources he cited for information about the Mississippi Valley were Hennepin, Charlevoix, Le Page du Pratz, the account of La Salle's travels published over Tonti's name (Paris, 1697), and Coxe.

Thomas Jefferys' lengthy *Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America* (London, 1760) was a mere compilation from Charlevoix, Le Page du Pratz, and Dumont de Montigny.

[2]Unless otherwise noted all manuscript correspondence cited in this introduction is from the Gage Papers in the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. For some of the regimental details I am indebted to Lt. Col. C.E. Casolani (ret'd) of London, who has extracted them from Robert J. Jones, *A History of the 15th (East Yorkshire) Regiment*. The movements of the 15th Foot can be traced in Stewart, *The Service of British Regiments in Canada and North Anerica*. Pittman's survey on the St. Lawrence is recorded in Brun, *Guide to the Manuscript Maps in the William L. Clements Library*, 27.

Douglas W. Marshall, Curator of Maps at the Clements Library, who is making a study of British army engineers and their cartographical work, 1754-1783, informs me that, although Pittman signed at least one letter to General Haldimand as "Ph. Pittman, R.E.," he was never a member of the Corps of Engineers, that his name never appears in any Army List of engineers, and that there is no record of his ever having attended Woolwich. Mr. Marshall's continuing research may eventually provide more details about Pittman's career. The lieutenant's correspondence with General Gage, however, makes it positive that he was assigned to engineering duties. On 9 November 1764 Gage, writing to the Earl of Halifax (secretary of state for the southern department) noted that "Lieut Pitman of the 15th Regt went to Florida in the Capacity of an Engineer" (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 351). Pittman's letters in the Gage Papers were commonly signed or indorsed as acting or assistant engineer and letters to him were often so addressed.

[3]Historians of West Florida (Dunbar Rowland, Peter J. Hamilton, C.E. Carter, Cecil Johnson, C.R. Howard, R.L. Gold) have commonly assumed that Major Farmar was in command of troops from the time of his arrival and that Robertson was sent there as inspector general to make a report personally to the commander-in-chief and as quarter-master-general to arrange for subsistence and supply for the army in that area. His orders (dated New York 24 August 1763) did specifically stress such duties, but they also announced that he was in command of East and West Florida so long as he remained on the spot: "Whereas I Have Delivered you Instructions for Executing a particular Service at *Florida* & *Louisianne*; & Likewise Empowered you to take the command of the Troops in the said Districts, during the time you shall Judge it Necessary for the Service to Remain there; These are therefore to Direct & Require All the Officers & Soldiers of His Majesty's Forces Stationed or to be Stationed in *Florida* & *Louisianne*; and all Others whom it may Concern; to Obey you as their Commanding Officer so long as you shall Judge it Necessary to act as Such; or untill You are Superceded by a Superior Officer; and a proper Authority." The general instructions were spelled out in a seven-page letter of the same date. Letters addressed on 23 August to "The Commanding Officer of Whitman's & Otway's Regiments in *Florida*, & the Country Ceded by *Spain* on the Continent of North America" and to "The Commanding Officer of Gage's and Cavendish's Regiments at the *Mobile*, & Country Ceded by *France*, on the *Left* of the *Mississippi*" did say that the commander-in-chief thought it proper "to Leave the said Command [of troops] in your Hands untill further Orders," but they also specified that the disposition of troops was in Robertson's hands. It may be that Robertson protested

that the letters he was carrying to the south were not sufficiently clear, for on the next day Amherst wrote again to those troop commanders: "Altho' in my other Letter which Accompanys this, I acquaint you that I intend to Leave the Command of Troops in Florida & its Dependencies [in Louisianne and its Dependencies] in your Hands, untill further Orders, You will observe that *that* is not to take Place, while Lt. Colonel Robertson Remains with you; during his Residence in Florida [in Louisianne] the Command is Vested in him." All the letters referred to, including one introducing Robertson to D'Abbadie at New Orleans, are in the Amherst Papers, William L. Clements Library. For Robertson's movements in Florida see his letters to Sir Jeffery Amherst, St. Augustine, 26 September 1763, and to Colonel William Amherst, Providence, 17 October, and Mobile, 15 November—all in the Clements Library.

[4]N.3 above. The enclosed document entitled "Some Account of the Country & Posts on the Mississippi as far up as the Limits of Canada as given by a Frenchman" shows the paucity of information available to British headquarters and the importance of obtaining detailed knowledge of the "present state of the establishments on the Mississippi." It has not been previously published: "From *Ouiatanon* to the Post *St Vincent*, which is Dependent of the Illinois, it is *120* Leagues a very fine River and you go the Whole way in *Pirogues* or *Canots*. *St Vincent* is a pretty Fort & there was usually an Officer or two and Twenty or Thirty Soldiers, some Families who Cultivate the Ground which is Excellent, the Savages here are Called *Pianquichats*, are about *60* Men, false and not brave.—Between the Posts of *Ouiatanon & St Vincent* there are three villages of Indians where there are not Officers but Houses, where Traders &ca Stop, the Savages are called the *Piants of Vermillon*, the *Quicapoux*, & the *Mascontins* of the upper Country who are good Enough, and the Whole of these Nations make about *300* Men.—Boats of Twenty Tons with Oars go from the *Mobile* to St Vincent.—

"From St Vincent's you go down *100* Leagues to get into the Mississippi, then you go up the Mississippi *40* Leagues to the Post of the Illinois Called the *Cas*, the Town of *Cascakias* is on the Side of a little River of the same name that you go up [marginal note: This I do not rightly Comprehend 'En laissant le Mississippi et sur la droit en montant et la Ville sur la Gauche de Cette petite Riviere'] three Leagues, Leaving the Mississippi on the right as you go up, and the Town upon the Left of the Little River, there are a great many Inhabitants here, who cultivate the Ground, that is abundant in all Sorts of Grain, there is a Village of Indians of about *400* Men, Sluggish People.—There is an Officer with a few Soldiers.

"From the Post Called the *Cas* to the *Establishment* which is the *Fort De Chartres*, there are six Leagues, the *Fort De Chartres* is the Place where a Major generally Resided and Commanded Four or Five Companys that formed the Small Posts in this Country and he was under the Order of the Commanding Officer at *Louisianne*. The Fort De *Chartres* is a Stone Fort, many Buildings in it, several Inhabitants, and a Village of Indians called Illinois of about *350* Men, a little above the Fort.—

"From the *Fort De Chartres* to the *Cacaoit* [Cahokia] there are *15* Leagues, a French Fort, an Officer & *20* or *25* Soldiers, some Familys & some Merchants, A Village of Illinois Indians of *2* or *300* Men, and several Missionaries at *Cacaoit* & the *Fort De Chartres*. At *Cascakias* there are some Jesuits who have a fine Settlement.—

"On the Ohio *25* Leagues above the Junction of the *Wabasche* with the Ohio, there is a Fort at the Fall or Rapides, there being a Carrying place there when the Waters are very Low. The French have an Officer and between *20* and *30* Men there."

[5]Gage to Halifax, New York, 9 November 1764, (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 351); Robertson, Report on the Floridas, to Gage, 8 March 1764 (*Ibid.*, X, 217); Pittman to Amherst, Mobile, 13 December 1763 (Gage Papers). Amherst had returned to England long before Robertson reached New York with his mailbag, but the new commander-in-chief, Major General Thomas Gage, confirmed the appointment and approved the request for extra pay (Gage to Pittman, New York, 29 March 1764).

[6] Kerlérec to Farmar, New Orleans, 2 October 1763, *Miss. Prov. Arch.: Eng. Dom.*, I, 54-58. D'Abbadie (in a letter two days later, also carried by Lind to Mobile) likewise stressed the importance of the joint arrival of the English and French authorities at Mobile (*Ibid.*, 34-35).

[7]For Farmar's point of view see his letter of 19 December 1763 to Amherst (Amherst Papers, Clements Library) and one of 24 January 1764 to the secretary at war *Miss. Prov. Arch.; Eng. Dom.*, I, 7-17. The letter to D'Abbadie (quoted) is in *Ibid.*, I, 36-37. For D'Abbadie's summary of these affairs at Mobile see his letter to the Minister 10 January 1764, Library of Congress transcript from a copy in the Arch. His. Nac.,

Madrid, Legajo 3882, exp. 9, No. 19. Only a brief extract of this letter was published in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 207-213.

[8]D'Abbadie to the Minister, 10 January 1764. In a letter to Kerlérec on 6 November D'Abbadie declared that the "English give me more troubles than the Savages" (Arch. Nat., Paris, Colonies C13A, 43: 235, copy in Lib. Cong.), D'Abbadie thought a principal cause of Indian hostility to the English was the haughtiness of Farmar and Loftus (D'Abbadie to Accaron, 10 April 1764—Surrey, *Calendar*, II, 1460).

[9]Robertson to Amherst, Mobile, 15 November 1763 (Amherst Ppaers, Clements Library). It is interesting to note that in his long letter to the secretary at war, 20 January 1764, Farmar referred to Robertson merely as the "Quartermaster General for America" who had been sent by Amherst "to visit the several posts in Florida and Lousiana."

[10]"The influence of Monsr Daubray, the Commandant of the Troops, and the Judgement & Industry of Capt. Bayne of the Stagg man of war, who both went with me from Mobille to assist in this Service enabled me to make better bargains than had been made for the French King, and the Security given leaves no doubt about the performances" (Robertson, Report, 8 March 1764 [*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 217]). See also D'Abbadie to the Minister, 10 January 1764.

[11]Robertson, Report to Gage, 8 March 1764 *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 216-217. According to an entry in his Journal, D'Abbadie was faced with another embarrassing request on 18 January 1764 when three (unnamed) officers, who had come across the lake from Mobile with ten men, asked permission to move their boat over to the Mississippi. The governor was reluctant to appear to refuse but the "impossibility of the enterprise" forced him to say that the boat had to return the way it had come (Arch. Nat., Paris, Colonies C13A, 43:249, copy in Lib. Cong.). Portions of this journal were published by Marc de Villiers du Terrage in *Les Dernières Années de La Louisiane*, but the transcription there is not always exact. Some portions of the journal (French and English texts) are to be found in the *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X. There is no complete text in print in either French or English.

[12]The embarkation was reported by Farmar to the Earl of Egremont on 24 January 1764 (*Miss. Prov. Arch.: Eng. Dom.*, I, 138). In a letter to Gage, dated New Orleans, 26 February (Gage Papers) Loftus wrote (to our confusion) that the ship he was in did not arrive at New Orleans until 2 February and the other transport not until the 12th. Loftus did nothing to clarify this matter when on 17 August he wrote to Gage that Robertson, after having made all arrangements at New Orleans late in 1763, had sent Pittman in advance of the troops to have everything ready on the arrival of Loftus: "Mr Pittman was there [New Orleans] a month before the Regiment." However, D'Abbadie recorded in his journal the arrival of the English officers and the date of the dinner and the conference as I have given them. According to him one English boat (on which Loftus traveled) must have been at the Balise by 21 January, a second arrived at the approved landing place on the right bank of the river just above New Orleans on 7 February, and a third anchored there on the 14th. All other available documentation indicates that D'Abbadie's notations were correct.

Also present at the dinner on 24 January was Lieutenant Pierre-Charles de Volsay (the commandant at Cahokia) who had just brought down Neyon de Villiers' latest dispatches (which Aubry read aloud) and who was to set out for Fort Chartres again on the 30th. (In both entries in the Journal mentioning this officer, the copyist miswrote his name as "Dolsay.") Volsay carried back to the Illinois a letter from Loftus, dated 29 January 1764, in which the English officer said that D'Abbadie and Aubry had informed him of "the disposition of the savages to render the taking possession difficult" to him *(Ill. Hist., Colls.*, X, 244). Pontiac, in fact, had told Neyon of the planned British expedition before any official word of it had reached the commandant at Fort Chartres. It was not the tribes of the Illinois that were a danger to the English but Pontiac. Gage, writing to Halifax from New York, 14 April 1764, said (on the basis of a letter from D'Abbadie to Robertson) that "There is Reason to Judge of Pondiac, not only as a Savege, possessed of the utmost refined Cunning and Treachery natural to the Indians, but as a Person of extraordinary Abilities" (*Ibid.*, 241). For the Ottawa chief see Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising.*

[13]Loftus to Gage, New Orleans, 26 February 1764; Loftus to Gage, Mobile, 20 December 1763. Report (probably by Aubry) joined to D'Abbadie's letter to the Minister, 30 March 1764 (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 227).

[14]In his report to Gage of 8 March 1764 Robertson had given the regimental strength at the beginning of January as 351, rank and file (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 220).

The figures above are from the French report cited in n. 13. In his journal D'Abbadie wrote "onze Batteaux avec 360 hommes compris 17 off^{ers} 30 femmes et 28 enfants et quelques Domestiques, ce qui fait en tout a peu pres 420 a 430 Personnes." I am not responsible for either of the grand totals arrived at.

[15]The day-by-day progress of the expedition from New Orleans to Roche à Davion is reported briefly in a "Journal of the Proceedings of His Majesty's 22^{d} Regiment up the River Mississippi" (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress), kept in the first person but not in the handwriting of Loftus. According to this diary, departure was at 6 A.M. on 27 February and the attack at 7 P.M. on 20 March. In his letter to Gage, 19 April, Loftus placed the attack at 7 A.M. There are other not important discrepancies between these two accounts and between them and the French report of 30 March. For instance, the latter noted that more than fifty men had deserted by the time of the attack; the "Journal" reported thirty-seven (one was recaptured, courtmartialled, condemned to death, and executed). The French report placed the attack at 9 A.M. on the 19th and D'Abbadie's journal dated the return to New Orleans as 22 March. Loftus's letter of 19 April, quoted below, gave 20 March as the date of the attack. Pittman's map of the Mississippi River from New Orleans to Roche à Davion, as copied by W. Brasier, bears the same date (Maps Division, Clements Library) as does Pittman's text. Loftus (19 April) and the "Journal of Proceedings" announced six killed and four wounded; Pittman, *Present State,* five and four. According to the "Journal of Proceedings" the party was again attacked at 10 P.M. as it passed the Tunica village on the return voyage.

[16]*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 230-231.

[17]Loftus to Gage, Pensacola, 19 April 1764. Pittman, *Present State,* p. 35, gave the casualties as five killed and four wounded. The unknown number of the enemy, the fact that they were on both sides of the river, and the very strong current were all factors, he declared, in the decision to turn back. He discovered later that the attackers were no more than thirty men.

The Loftus report, sent by special courier from Pensacola on 19 April, reached Gage on 18 May, who two days later wrote to both Loftus and Farmar expressing his disappointment and making clear what he thought Loftus could have done. The latter (17 August) defended himself vigorously, pointing out the difficulty of defending a convoy in which almost every soldier was pulling an oar and informing Gage that the assistance Robertson thought he had arranged for had not materialized. The only pilots Loftus could obtain had been two disbanded soldiers who were "very ignorant of the river." To "cajol and soothe" the Indian chiefs along the way, as the General advised, Loftus wrote, was hardly possible when he was without an interpreter and could hold no conversation with them.

[18]Apparently this was an offer by D'Abbadie to procure a safe passage for a detachment of the 34th infantry (under Captain Campbell) which had been ordered to Natchez—see Gage to Halifax, New York, 13 July 1764 (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 284).

[19]"While we remained before Orleans, several of the Savage Chiefs who had Attacked us, made there Publick Entry into the Town," Loftus wrote to Gage in his official report from Pensacola, 19 April 1764 (the extract of this letter in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 237-239, is there misdated 9 April). The major, however, misunderstood the arrival of deputies from the Tunica tribe, who came to ask permission for their chief to make a conciliatory visit to the governor, which D'Abbadie refused to grant until mid-July (D'Abbadie, Journal, entry for 4 April). It is possible that Loftus confused a delegation of Houmas and others of the "small tribes" settled above New Orleans who were received by D'Abbadie on 30 March (recorded in his journal on that date) with the Tunicas who lived much farther up the river.

[20]Loftus to Gage, Mobile, 24 December 1764; 17 August 1764.

[21]The unproved allegations, widely made by British officers and officials, that D'Abbadie had acted for his own private profit, for reasons of space must remain to be examined in a separate paper. At this time I will content myself with pointing out that I have thus far come on no evidence of malfeasance in office; his succession papers (1765) disclose an estate of possibly 70,000 livres—his personal property (including slaves) brought 57,000 livres at public sale. His widow sought and obtained a very small pension on her return to France.

[22]*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 228-229. The "Journal of Proceedings of the 22^{d} Regiment up the Mississippi" (already cited), which had been carried to Gage in New York by Captain Thorn of the 22^{d} with Loftus's letter-report of 19 April, did not include any reference to this incident. It did report, however, that on 14 March, while the

regiment was at the fort at Pointe Coupée, Loftus had "got good intelligence we shou'd be attacked at the Roche D'Avion or near it, with the names of the Indian Nations that would attack us; these were the Houmass, Tunica's, Housess [?] & Chillimachas." Captain Campbell, writing to Governor Johnstone on 14 December 1764, again declared that the people of Pointe Coupée "had been instrumental in encouraging the Savages to attack" the convoy *(Miss. Prov. Arch.: Eng. Dom.,* I, 267).

[23]Loftus to Gage, Pensacola, 19 April 1764; D'Abbadie, Journal: Farmar to Gage, Mobile, 3 April 1764. Loftus planned to send back a coast vessel to tow the river boats to Mobile, an operation which did "not appear easy" to D'Abbadie and which was not eventually carried out. The last of the British troops (except for the ten guards) were picked up at the Balise on 30 April (D'Abbadie to the Minister, 29 June 1764, *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 270). Loftus finally arrived with his regiment at Mobile on 10 August 1764 (Farmar to Gage, Mobile, 20 August 1764).

[24]Loftus to Gage, Mobile, 17 August 1764. Pittman's letter has not been found, but Gage's reply addressed to "Lt. Pittman Engineer at Mobile," 19 June 1764, is in the Gage Papers at the Clements Library.

[25]*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 264-265.

[26]*Ibid.*, X, 265-267, 272.

[27]Pittman to Farmar, New Orleans, 10 July 1764, enclosed in Farmar to Gage, 24 March 1765. Pittman thought this advice to the Arkansas Indians "some thing Extradordinary considering the very last Vessel that arrived brought letters from Paris and Madrid which put it out of all doubt that this Country will not remain half a year under the French Governmt." The lieutenant, however, overlooked the fact that these were not official letters—see n. 33 below. Pittman also met at this time Neyon de Villers who arrived at New Orleans from the Illinois on 2 July; he inclosed to Farmar a translation of a talk Neyon had held with Pontiac at Fort Chartres on 15-17 April (copy encluded in Farmar to Gage, Mobile, 21 December 1764). The interpreter was not for Pittman (who knew French) but for the Indian-French "talk."

[28]Pittman to D'Abbadie, New Orleans, 6 July 1764, enclosed in Farmar to Gage, 24 March 1765.

[29]D'Abbadie to Pittman, New Orleans, 8 July 1764, enclosed in Farmar to Gage 24 March 1765. How dangerous and imprudent such a voyage could be is seen in an incident reported by Captain James Campbell to Gage (New Orleans, 20 August 1764): "The Savages of the Arkansas are So Exasperated by Pondiacks Influence that they Search the French Convoys for Englishmen: and five days ago they Discovered one of your Deserters [i.e., from the 22nd, Gage's own regiment] and put him immediately to death."

[30]Pittman to Farmar, New Orleans, 10 July 1764. Gilbert Antoine Maxent's "Magazine above" was the trading post just built by his partner Pierre de Laclède nearly opposite Cahokia, which marks the beginning of St. Louis, Missouri. The interpreter was Charlot Kaské, the Shawnee chief who had arrived at New Orleans on 2 July with Neyon de Villiers: "he is Thoroughly a Master of the Illinois language," declared Pittman, "the Outawais Iroquois and all the Nations of the Missouris, he is a Man of good Character and his wife and family live at the Illinois, I have agreed to give him 1200 livres per Annum."

[31]*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 190-193, 285-287.

[32]To the Minister D'Abbadie wrote on 10 September 1764 (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 308-309). "M. Pittman who had been chosen to ascend alone to the Illinois had returned to Mobile in order to impart to his commandant his reflections on the difficulties of this enterprise. It appears that this commandant has paid no attention to them, and M. Pittman returned to New Orleans last month with the purpose of pursuing his project. Since there were several bateaux equipped by private individuals destined to transport some provisions to the Illinois, I told M. Pittman to look among these individuals to see if there was not some one who would be willing to burden himself with giving him passage, but demanding that he be assured of defense and protection, particularly in case of meeting a party of savages. He has not found anyone who would be willing to burden himself with these conditions."

[33]This English version of his talk Pittman enclosed with his letter to Gage, 8 January 1765. He distributed to the "Canadians" his own French draft; a copy of the latter D'Abbadie sent to the Minister (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 297-300, 309). D'Abbadie also sent a copy to Gage, 16 August 1764. There are slight but unimportant

variations. D'Abbadie underscored the sentence about the transfer to Spain which he found particularly reprehensible. The traders returning to the Illinois Country were quite possibly some of those who had "deserted" the settlements to come down with Neyon de Villiers and who had changed their minds after reaching New Orleans.

[34]Journal entry for 12 August (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 194-195). D'Abbadie was well aware of these rumors. He referred to them in a letter to the Minister on 15 January 1764 and on 18 April 1764 made a note concerning them in his journal. Rivoire, writing from New Orleans to the Marquis de Grimaldi, Spanish ambassador at Paris, on 25 June 1764, shows that the cession of Louisiana west of the Mississippi was common gossip. Farmar's letter to the Secretary of War, 24 January 1764 (*Miss. Prov. Arch.: Eng. Dom.*, I, 13, 138) and Gage's to Farmar on 20 May 1764 (Gage Papers) refer to the cession to Spain. But the fact remains that this was all still *rumor* in August 1764: D'Abbadie did not have official word of the transfer to Spain until 30 September of that year. Pittman's behavior was indiscreet and undiplomatic.

[35]D'Abbadie to Gage, New Orleans, 16 August 1764 (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 302- 303); D'Abbadie to the Minister, New Orleans, 10 September 1764 (*Ibid.*, X, 309-310); Gage to Pittman, New York, 16 November 1764; Pittman to Gage, Mobile, 6 January 1765; Pittman to Gage, Mobile, 8 January 1765; Gage to Pittman, New York, 19 February 1765; Pittman to Gage, New Orleans, 27 March 1765.

Aubry reported the death of D'Abbadie in the postscript of a letter to the Minister from New Orleans on 4 February 1765: "At the moment that I sealed my letter God removed M. D'Abbadie, February 4 at two P.M." (*Ill. Hist. Coll.*, X, 432). Captain Campbell on 8 February wrote to General Gage "of the Death of Mr Dabadie the 4th Instant. [he] had been taken by a fitt of Apoplexy Ten Days before by which he had lost the power of his hands. The Second of Febry was attacked by an other which after Several Intermissions he Died of, in the Greatest Agony. He is much regreted and we have Lost a Most obliging friend."

[36]Farmar to Pittman, Mobile, 5 September 1764, quoted by Pittman in his letter to Gage, Mobile, 1 January 1765.

[37]"Extract of a letter dated 16 Dec[r] 1764 from Monsr Aubry Commandant of the Troops in Louisianna to Lieutt Pittman at Mobille" enclosed in Farmar to Gage, 24 March 1765.

[38]Campbell to Governor Johnstone, Mobile, 12 December 1764 (*Miss. Prov. Arch.: Eng. Dom.*, I, 266). On 9 March Loftus had ordered "M Pittman Engineer, to Survey the entrance of the River Iberville, and also with Capt Lieut Campbell and a Covering Party to reconnoitre the Banks, as far as they could goe, which was not above a mile or two; This River is 35 Leagues from Orleans" ("Journal of Proceedings of the 22[d] Regiment").

[39]Farmar to Gage, Mobile, 7 August 1764. The other "scheme" was the conciliation of the tribes along the lower Mississippi preparatory to a second attempt to send troops to Fort Chartres.

[40]*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 195-196.

[41]Campbell to Gage, New Orleans, 20 August 1764. The captain also acknowledged D'Abbadie's help in setting up this project. D'Abbadie's letter is quoted from *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 311. Later Campbell declared that his guides had deceived him "by leading him into a large Bayou that terminated within four Leagues of the Miss[issi]ppi" (see his statement submitted to the Court of Inquiry held by Farmar in July 1765 to consider charges filed by Pittman against Farmar, enclosed in Farmer to Gage, Natchez, 12 August 1765).

[42]D'Abbadie to the Minister, New Orleans, 30 September 1764 (*Ill. Hist. Coll.*, X, 313); Campbell to Farmar, Richmond Point, 29 October 1764; Campbell to Farmar, Mobile, 9 December 1764. According D'Abbadie Campbell left New Orleans on 13 October (Journal entry for 16 October). In his description of the Iberville (pp. 27-32 in his book) Pittman did not use the name Commyt. This fork may have been the place he called "Anatamaha, which, in the Indian language, signifies the fish-place." Campbell (29 October), like Pittman, mentioned the great number of alligators and fish here "Where formerly the Indians had a Village Called by the French fish village."

[43]Campbell to Gage, Mobile, 10 December 1764; Farmar to Gage, Mobile, 21 December 1764. On 12 December 1764 Campbell wrote to George Johnstone, newly arrived governor of West Florida, "I . . . have so far succeeded, that by the 10th of January the Navigation from the Mississippi to Mobile will be opened for vessels not

drawing over eight or nine Feet Water" (*Miss. Prov. Arch.: Eng. Dom.*, I, 267). Campbell wrote his French contractor's name as Depart; in other documents DuPar—actually this was Pierre Delisle Dupart, a long-time resident of New Orleans. Campbell later gave his age as 70 and mentioned his daughter, Madame Mandeville.

[44]D'Abbadie, Journal, entries for 27, 30 November, 8 December; D'Abbadie to the Minister, New Orleans, 29 January 1765 (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 425-426).

[45]All this is recited in a letter to General Gage, written at Mobile, 1 January 1765, which, however, Pittman did not forward at this time. When his difficulties with Farmar were drawing to a head in the Illinois Country, Pittman did enclose it with another of 20 March 1766. For the Ross mission, see St. Ange to D'Abbadie, Fort Chartres, 21 February 1765; Ross to Farmar, Fort Chartres, 21 February and 25 May 1765; statement by Crawford, 22 July 1765—all in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 439-443, 481-484. Also Farmar to Gage, Mobile, 21 December 1764 and 21 March 1765(Gage Papers). Pittman had arrived at Mobile on 30 July 1764 and left again for New Orleans on 2 August. He was still there when Campbell was preparing his (second) "expensive design of Clearing the Ibberville."

[46]Pittman to Gage, 1 January 1765. He stressed the fact that Gage's letter had been addressed to "Lt. Pittman Engineer at Mobile." See n. 24 above. At this time Farmar was apparently acting as if Pittman were Gage's own man, not his.

[47]Copies of these letters were enclosed with Pittman's letter to Gage, 20 March 1766.

[48]This letter was acknowledged by Gage on 19 February 1765: "You will be pleased to Send me a Copy of the Survey You intended to take of the Ibbeville, and which I hope you will have finished [in] time enough to Join the 34th Regt before they leave Mobile, and that you will have proceeded with that Corps for the Illinois." Pittman had first promised these surveys in a letter to Gage (not found) of 11 November 1764.

[49]A list of Pittman's "draughts" will be found preceding this introduction.

[50]This "Description" with some minor stylistic revisions Pittman published in his book, pp. 27-30. His letters to Gage of 27 and 29 March 1765, with the "Description" and the plans, were acknowledged by Gage on 17 June. From this account "I am to Judge," wrote the general, "that when the Mississippi is high, there is water enough to carry a Batteau from Lake Pontchartrain into the River Mississippi above New Orleans. But that the Navigation from Anatamaha, to where the Mississippi enters, is difficult, on account of the narrowness of the River, which prevents the use of Oars, and on Account of the Depth and Rapidity of the Water, which does not permit the use of Setting Poles. And for those Reasons You advise the Cutting of a Road to haul the Boats by Men or Horses."

[51]Pittman to Gage, Camp Opposite New Orleans, 22 June 1765; Gage to Pittman, New York, 17 June 1765. The endorsement on Pittman's letter shows that his "Draught of Louisiana & part of West Florida" was received 20 August 1765, though Pittman on 10 February 1767 was still inquiring of Gage whether it had reached headquarters. Its location today is unknown. A like acknowledgement of indebtedness to French sources was made on the Ross map of the Mississippi published in London in 1755: *Course of the River Mississipi from the Balise to Fort Chartres: taken on an Expedition to the Illinois, in the latter end of the year 1765, by Lieut Ross of the 34th Regiment: Improved from Surveys of that River made by the French.*

[52]Campbell wrote at length to Farmar (Richmond Point, 26 March 1765) about Dupart and Pittman's "malicious reports."

[53]Statement of Pittman at the Court of Inquiry instituted by Farmar, 10 July 1765(Gage Papers).

[54]This letter was enclosed with Farmar's to Gage of 20 March 1765. Pittman had left the Bayou St. Jean to begin the on-site survey on 12 February, had arrived at Point Iberville (Point Richmond or Richmond Point, as it was variously called) on the 19th, and worked there until 5 March—at which date Captain Campbell had not yet returned to that spot. Pittman was now on his way back to New Orleans to complete his drafts for General Gage.

[55]Farmar's difficulties with Governor Johnstone will be noticed later—see n. 65.

[56]The account of Dupart for services of fifty-eighty artificers from the beginning of October to 31 December 1764 came to $5100.00. The negroes were all slaves of Dupart, for whose labor he was being very well paid (Monsanto to Farmar, 23 January 1765, enclosed in Farmar to Gage, 10 February 1765.)

[57]Farmar forwarded these papers to Gage 12 August 1765.

[58]Enclosed with Pittman to Gage, 22 July 1765.

[59]Campbell wrote of Pittman in the same terms to Gage from Richmond Point, 20 June 1765. It should be noted, however, that Pittman was on very good terms with Maxent, the leading merchant of New Orleans, as well as with Aubry. One has to discount rivalry and spite on both sides.

[60]Receipt of Farmar's reports and Pittman's letter was acknowledged by Gage on 12 March 1766.

[61]On these attempts at arrangements see D'Abbadie to the Minister, New Orleans, 29 January 1765, citing a letter of D'Abbadie of 16 October 1764 (*Ill. Hist. Coll.*, X, 423-424); D'Abbadie, Journal, 14 October, 12, 17, and 25 November 1764; D'Abbadie to Farmar, New Orleans, 17 November 1764 (enclosed in Farmar to Gage, 24 December 1764). The fullest account of this Lind-Maxent affair is in a letter from Maxent to Pittman, 27 November 1764, a copy of which was passed by Governor George Johnstone to Gage on 2 January 1765. Gage forwarded an extract to Farmar for comment to which the major replied on 13 April: " . . . as to Maxent's letter to Pittman I can assure your Excellency I have not the least doubt of its being a malecious falsely [sic] and proceeds from his being disapointed by Capt. Linds contracting with another on better terms." But in his Journal on 25 November D'Abbadie summarized in some detail this confrontation in his office which strengthens the credibility of Maxent's statements. Earlier (12 November) he had noted one reason not to approve Lind for an Official loan: "Je voulus d'autant moins le Certifier que je Savois que Cet Officier avoit Couche a La Nlle Orleans une Somme de 6800 et quelques Louis du Sr Lambert quil avoit employe ici pour Son Compte particulier." On 25 November he wrote that Lind had converted a letter of exchange for 6800 *livres* into 4000 *livres* in cash and the remainder into merchandise which the captain used for his own private account. In the light of the opinion commonly expressed by British officers that D'Abbadie shared improperly in the Indian trade, is it possible that a French pot was being called black by English kettles?

[62]One of the copies of this contract was sent by Farmar to Gage on 21 December 1764. Pittman gave a brief description of such boats on pp. 6-7 of his text. The boats used by Loftus were described in the "Journal of Proceedings of the 22d Regiment."

[63]D'Abbadie, Journal, 27 November.

[64]On 10 February 1765 Farmar forwarded to Gage this translation of Monsanto's letter.

[65]Typical of Johnstone's demands was a series of sixteen questions he placed before Farmar on 23 December 1764, to which he demanded positive and prompt answers. The letters cited or quoted here are only a small sample of the extensive correspondence between Johnstone and Farmar and the reports of Farmar in the Gage Papers. For Gage's reaction to Johnstone see especially his letters to Brigadier Taylor 26 June and 11 August 1766. Farmar was still in Mobile on 29 April, for he wrote to Gage on that day. He probably left soon after, for a memoir addressed to Aubry on the subject of deserters was signed by the major and his officers on 7 May at New Orleans (a copy with Aubry's response dated 24 May was enclosed with Aubry's letter to Gage of 21 June 1765).

[66]Eventually Farmar reported to Gage that the regiment arrived at Fort Chartres on 2 December after a voyage of five months and five days (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 131). This would indicate departure from New Orleans on 28 June. Aubry, writing to Gage on 21 June, said that Farmar had been encamped there for six weeks.

[67]Farmar to Gage, Point Iberville, 21 July 1765. The regiment may not have left on the 22nd, for on this day Pittman wrote to the general from that address. Farmar had reached New Orleans with the 34th reduced by death and desertion to 140 men (Aubry to the Minister, 12 March 1766—*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 186).

Farmar added a paragraph on the sad state of the newly established military post here: "The miserable situation I found this post in, and the unhappy one I was obliged to leave it in, demands my troubling your Excellency with the representation; in the first place they have been most shamefully neglected in their supply of Provisions and 'tis now full six weeks since they have been necessitated to subsist by their Wits. The Officer sent with a Party of the 22d Regiment has not yet arrived, & there remains only at this time, (of the Military) One Engineer, One Artillery Officer & a Bombardier to defend all the Artillery, Artillery Stores, Indian presents, &ca, &ca."

The post was raided by Indians in August—word of which reached Aubry on the

30th. On the 31st Lieutenant Robertson, engineer and commandant, reached New Orleans with six men (the entire garrison) and told Aubry that, being without provisions and menaced by the Indians, he had been obliged to abandon the post. The French commandant sent an officer to the Indians who returned with eight barrels of powder and many guns and blankets which the Indians had turned over to him. Later the Indians came themselves to New Orleans and turned in a great part of the effects they had stolen. All this Aubry returned to Robertson. The Indians told Aubry that the Evil Spirit had tempted them and promised that nothing like it would happen in the future. Aubry threatened that if any such thing did occur again he would go in person and raze their village, but to Gage he suggested that it would be best for future relations not to push punishment any farther. It was besides astonishing, he wrote to Gage (New Orleans, 16 October 1765), that large supplies should have been left in the middle of the woods with only an officer and six men to guard them—the very way to tempt the Indians. For the planning of this fort (which cost more than £2000) see *Miss. Prov. Arch.: Eng. Dom.*, I, 261-265, 271-272, 278-283.

[68]The cargo of the convoy included 5265 gallons of brandy bought at New Orleans to provide a daily ration "to each Soldier without which they cannot possibly undergo the inconceivable fatigue of Continual Rowing, a Quantity is also included in the above for the Indians, a Commodity absolutely necessary, having received it from the French" (Farmar to Gage, Mobile, 24 December 1764).

[69]Mistakenly called Fort Missourie by Farmar. Fort Assumption had been built in 1757 under the direction of Captain Aubry and two years later had been renamed *Massiac* (popularly: Massac) for the Minister of the Colonies. Abandoned by the French in 1764 it had been destroyed shortly after by Indians (Caldwell, "Fort Massac during the French and Indian War"; Fortier, "New Light on Fort Massac").

[70]Farmar to Gage, Natchez, 12 August 1765; Campbell to Gage, Natchez, 16 August 1765; Farmar to Gage, Fort Cavendish, Illinois, 16 and 19 December 1765.

[71]Normal passage time for a fully laden commercial boat of twenty to twenty-two oars from New Orleans to the Illinois Country was ninety days—the convoy took one hundred and fifty-eight. For Fort Chartres and the Illinois at this time see, *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 91-111, 124-127, and *passim*.

[72]Gage to Pittman, New York, 19 June 1764; Pittman to Gage, Fort Cavendish, 17 December 1765; Pittman to Gage, Fort Cavendish, 24 February 1766; Pittman to Gage, Fort Chartres, 10 February 1767; *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 301. The manuscript map (21 inches high by 58 inches long) in the Map Collection at the Clements Library shows some details not included in the published version. Although he made no reference to them, Pittman undoubtedly had the advantage of similar maps by French engineers which he had found in New Orleans.

[73]On 22 July Pittman had written to Gage from Point Iberville: "I shall on my arrival at Natches beg Major Farmar (if he makes any stay) to allow me to take a survey of that Country which I shall forward to you by the first opportunity." From Natchez he wrote again, on 17 August, acknowledging that he had promised to send "a Plan of the Fort, and Country of Natches," but declared that "our short stay at this place, has put it out of my power to comply with that promise. I have however taken a plan of the Fort and shall do myself the Honor to send you a Copy with a report of its condition the next opportunity, as our going from hence immediately prevents my doing it at present." This report he forwarded to Gage from Fort Cavendish on 17 December: "I do my self the honor of sending to your Excelly by Captain Stirling a plan of the fort at Natches . . . . I also inclose herewith Descriptions of Natches . . . . " The account of Natchez appears in revised form on pp. 37-39 in the facsimile. The story of the attack on Fort Rosalie by the Natchez Indians and the resulting destruction of the tribe have been added.

[74]Enclosed in Pittman to Gage, Fort Cavendish, 17 December 1765. Printed, revised, on pp. 40-41.

[75]The French plan of Fort Chartres is not in the Gage Papers. Captain Stirling was the bearer of these dispatches to headquarters.

[76]Stirling on 18 October 1765 reported the village "quite depopulated, the River having run away with half of it" (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 109).

[77]Concerning this rock Pittman added a note: "There is the figure of a human being which has grown in the Rock all the Indians who pass by it pay their adoration to this figure imagining that it is something supernatural and has an influence over their fortunes."

[78]Pittman's letters of 17 December 1765 and 24 February 1766 with the enclosed

plans and descriptions were acknowledged by Gage on 7 July 1766: "I thank you for the information they contain, as I shall for the further pursuit of this Descriptive Scheme you have so well begun." The published descriptions of the Illinois settlements (pp.42-50) are revisions which add some details. In the printed account of Kaskaskia, for example, Pittman noted that Monsieur Beauvais had eighty slaves and that the old fort had burned down in October 1766. In the book Pittman added brief accounts "Of the Country of the Illinois," "Of the Government of the Country of the Illinois When Belonging to the French," and "Of the Inhabitants" (pp. 51-55). The published plan of Kaskaskia was completed, it will be seen, some months after the description of the town was sent to Gage.

[79]This recapitulation is from Pittman to Gage, Fort Cavendish, 20 March 1766. With it should be read Pittman's letter to Gage (previously mentioned) written 1 January 1765 but not sent, which he now forwarded to the general. Also, Farmar to Pittman, Fort Cavendish, 13 December 1765 and Pittman to Farmar, same date.

[80]"I refused a Bill of about 80 pounds Stirling which he had drawn on one Mr Samuel Farmar a Merchant at New York and that amount to be paid in York currency. this Bill was presented to me by one Monsr Carpentier a Mercht late of this place to whom I had sold a Negroe on condition that he should pay me in Major Farmar's Bills on the Treasury which he promised to me, he having sold Merchandise to the Major on the governments account to a great deal more than that amount. When this Bill was offerd me, I told him it was not what I had agreed for he asked what objection I had to the Bill. I then made him acquainted with the difference of Value betwixt London and American Bills, and that it was otherwise inconvenient to me as I did not know how soon I might go to Europe. Monsr Carpentier carried the Bills back to the Major and acquainted him with my refusal, and ask'd for Government Bills which were owing him, and he was at the same time bid to tell me that I must take them. I again declared I would not. Major Farmar has never spoke to me on the subject nor did he order me in arrest, 'till 8 or 10 days after the affair happend. He told Lieut Henry a short time before he order'd me in confinement that I had hurt his credit, and that I should suffer for it. Others with whom he has contracted for Provisions have been paid with the same bills and I am inform'd have also demanded Government Bills, he imagines at my instigation, tho' I have not had the least conversation with them on the subject" (Pittman to Gage, 20 March 1766).

[81]*Ibid.*

[82]Proceedings of a General Court Martial, Fort Cavendish, 22 [24?] May 1766, enclosed in Reed to Gage, Fort Chartres, 9 June 1766; Farmar to Gage, Fort Cavendish, 24 May 1766; Pittman to Gage, Fort Chartres, 18 June 1766, enclosed in Reed to Gage, Fort Chartres, 19 June 1766.

[83]I have not found either the letter from Pittman of May 1766 to which he here refers nor an acknowledgement by Gage of its receipt. The original map of the river, however, is in the Map Division of the Clements Library; the plan of Fort Chartres in not. On 10 February 1767 Pittman again mentioned the latter plan sent in May 1766.

[84]"Journal of Capt. Harry Gordon, 1766," *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 298-299.

[85]*Ibid.*, 300. For Fort Massac see Caldwell and Fortier in "Sources Consulted."

[86]Pittman to Gage, Fort Chartres, 20 November 1766; Gage to Pittman, New York, 9 April 1767. The plan of Kaskaskia Pittman published; the original is in the Clements Library. The Fort Chartres sketches have not been located. On 27 November 1766 Pittman served as Deputy Judge Advocate at the trial for desertion of a sergeant and a soldier (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 433-437).

[87]On 13 December 1766 General Taylor at Pensacola reported to Gage that Farmar had arrived two days before and had "been put under an arrest, agreeably to orders." Later (1 May 1767) Gage was to write to General Haldimand that if the major had gone directly to Pensacola when he had received orders to do so and had not stayed so many months in New Orleans, his trial would have been over long ago. As early as 25 February 1765 Gage had informed Lord Halifax that he was proposing "to bring Major Farmar to a publick Tryal to answer for his Conduct [as a result of Governor Johnstone's charges], as soon as Affairs will admit of it" (Carter, *Correspondence of General Gage*, I, 51). On 16 June 1767 Gage (making clear that this was a military trial in which the Governor of West Florida had no part) forwarded to Haldimand a list of witnesses supporting Pittman's charges, which Gage had reduced from sixteen to four. Preliminaries for this court-martial dragged on many more months until a court sat in March-April 1768. On 21 August Haldimand informed Farmar at

Mobile that Gage had sent the proceedings to be submitted to the King for final judgement. The commander-in-chief at this time repeated once more that if Farmar chose to prosecute Pittman a court-martial might be held in New York without delay ("Calendar of Haldimand Papers," *Report on Canadian Archives for 1885*, p. 147). At last, on 26 April 1769 Haldimand wrote to Farmar congratulating him on his exoneration (*Ibid.*, 151). There is a great volume of correspondence in the Gage Papers at the Clements Library and the Haldimand Papers in the British Museum about the Farmar court-martial.

[88]"Diary of Matthew Clarkson," *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 362-363. People had been crossing the river on the ice since 14 (24?] January.

[89]Pittman to General Haldimand, Pensacola, 21 April 1767, Haldimand Papers, British Museum Add. Mss., 21,728, p. 144. Captain Harry Gordon on 6 October 1766 and George Morgan on 11 December 1766 left notes of their impressions of the fort also (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 302-304; 444-445).

[90]British Museum, Add. Mss., 21,728, p. 145. For the earlier fort see n. 67. Captain Gordon (10 October 1766) commented briefly on Fort Bute (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 304-305). Colonel Maxwell in a memo (undated but of 1768?) also described the new post which he located a quarter of a mile from the Point and one hundred yards from the Mississippi (Haldimand Papers, British Museum, Add. Mss. 21, 686, p. 60). A considerable correspondence in the Gage Papers is devoted to further work over several years to open the Iberville effectively.

[91]Gage to Pittman, New York, 31 May 1767, in response to a letter from Pittman, 31 [sic] April, announcing his arrival at Pensacola. On this same date Haldimand wrote to Gage that Pittman was sending the plan of a fort at the Illinois which would cost much and would be difficult to construct with the few men available.

[92]The last reference to Pittman in Illinois Country records was a petition presented to the court at Kaskaskia on 5 June 1770 for the forced sale of his house acquired as early as 1767 from Jean Baptiste Beauvais, for which Raphael Beauvais held Pittman's note for 3,000 *livres*. The house was then occupied by Lieutenant Benjamin Chapman of the 58th Regiment. The court ordered the property seized and to be sold on the next 7 August (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XVI, 467-468). Matthew Clarkson mentioned Pittman's house in his diary in February 1767 (*Ibid.*, XI, 362).

[93]Haldimand to Gage, Pensacola, 31 [sic] April 1767; 16 June 1767; 5 August 1767. Copies of the Pittman reports were enclosed with the August letter. The originals are in the Haldimand Papers in the British Museum. I have not found a paper on "The Boundaries of West Florida" supposed to be in both collections. Hodder mistakenly identified the Apalachees as "the post at the head of Mobile Bay." Actually Pittman gave the location of Fort St. Marc as 137 miles east of Pensacola and 113 miles west of St. Augustine. In the map division of the Clements Library there is "A Sketch of the entrance from the sea to Apalachy and Part of the Environs taken by George Gould [Gauld] esqr surveyor of the coast and Lieutenant Philip Pittman assistant engineer" (32 x 17 3/4 inches) which must be the map Pittman and Haldimand referred to. The plans of Fort St. Marc are not in the Clements collection. Pittman made no reference to any companion. Gauld's *A General Description of the Sea-coasts, Harbours, Lakes, Rivers &c. of the Province of West-Florida* (1769) (Amer. Phil. Soc. ms) is limited to West Florida. The names of the two men are linked only in Haldimand's letter to Gage of 16 June where he reported that Pittman was going "avec Mr Gall (un Arpenteur employé par L'Admirauté pour lever le plan de ces Costes)" and on the plan of the environs of the fort already mentioned. *An Account of the Surveys of Florida, &c . . . .of Mr. George Gauld* (London, 1790) is actually about the Florida Keys.

[94]Haldimand to Gage, Pensacola, 16 June 1767; 1 September 1767; 30 October 1767; Marsh to Haldimand, Pensacola, 20 November 1767 (British Museum, Add. Mss. 21,728). The copy of the last document, enclosed in Haldimand to Gage, 29 November 1767, is dated 19 [!] November. Haldimand, writing on 30 October, had not been alarmed by the delay in the arrival of Pittman: although boats had made the trip in as few as seven or eight days, he told Gage, one boat recently had been forty-two days on its way.

[95]Haldimand to Pittman (copy), Pensacola, 16 November 1767, enclosed in Haldimand to Gage, Pensacola, 28 November 1767. This information was for possible future use: Haldimand was withdrawing the garrison from Tombecby which was now regarded as a post unnecessary and difficult to defend. Although all of Haldimand's correspondence with Gage was in French, the order to Pittman was in English.

[96]Haldimand to Gage, Pensacola, 16 January 1768; 28 February 1768.

[97]Haldimand to Gage, Pensacola, 20 April 1768; 29 April 1768.

[98]Farmar to Haldimand, Pensacola, 20 April 1768, enclosed in Haldimand to Gage, 29 April 1768; Gage to Haldimand, 26 June 1768, Haldimand to Farmar, 21 August 1768; Haldimand to Farmar, St. Augustine, 26 April 1769 (the last three citations from "Calendar of Haldimand Papers" in *Report on Canadian Archives for 1884*, p. 138, for 1885, pp. 147, 151).

[99]Gage to Haldimand, New York, 29 April 1768; 23 May 1768; "Calendar of Haldimand Papers," *Report on Canadian Archives for 1885*, p. 147; Warrant, New York, 20 January 1769 (Gage Papers).

[100]Such a manner of reference to Johnstone in the preface to his book suggests that Pittman had renewed his acquaintance with the former governor of West Florida, toward whom on more than one occasion to the annoyance of Farmar he had inclined in the West Florida disputes over authority. Pittman also wrote that Johnstone intended soon to publish a book about West Florida, which again indicates some closeness of acquaintance. Johnstone did not produce such a work—at least the British Museum Catalogue does not list one. But was Johnstone responsible for *Proceedings of a General Court Martial, held at Pensacola, in West-Florida, on Wednesday, March 16, 1768, and Continued till Wednesday, April 20, 1768* announced in the "Catalogue of New Publications" in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for February 1771 (XLV, 85)? An octavo priced at 3s 6p, it was published by "Johnston." The British Museum Library does not have a copy of this report of Farmar's trial.

[101]Robertson to Gage, 8 March 1764, forwarded to the Colonial Office (*Ill. Hist. Colls.* X, 217); Gage to Halifax, 9 November 1764 (Carter, *Correspondence of General Gage*, I, 42).

[102]From available documents it is not known when or from what port Pittman sailed for home. Gage reported to Barrington (New York, 14 June 1768) that he had ordered the 15th Regiment to embark at Quebec, and he wrote to Hillsborough on 18 August that he would "probably hear of the Arrival of the 15th Regiment in England, before this letter" would be in his hands (Carter, *Correspondence of General Gage*, I, 188; II, 474). Pittman may well have sailed from New York, but he must have left America in mid-1768.

[103]Campbell, retired from the army but still barrackmaster at Fort Chartres, with the permission of General Gage was on his way to England to bring back to Illinois his wife whom he had not seen for fourteen years (Campbell to Gage, Fort Chartres, 17 February 1768, Gage Papers; Gage to Hillsborough, 7 October 1769, *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XVI, 629; Campbell to Gage, New Orleans, 17 August—Cape Henlopen Bay, 24 September 1769, inclosed in Gage to Hillsborough, 7 October 1769, Gage Papers). Personal contact between Hillsborough and Pittman is verified by a letter from the Earl to Gage, Whitehall, 31 July 1770, in which the secretary for the colonies said he had "been informed by Captain Pittman and others who have surveyed the Ibberville" that by cutting a deep enough channel and widening the stream, navigation of the Iberville could be made practical (Carter, *Correspondence of General Gage*, II, 109).

[104]Robert R. Rea in his recent edition of Pittman (p. xlv) makes a point of noting that "During the years of residency Pittman consistently referred to [Fort Chartres] as Fort Cavendish, the name bestowed by Robert Farmar; nowhere in his book does he allow that name to appear." This he seems to attribute to Pittman's obsessive dislike of the major. But to say this is to overlook the fact that Farmar was honoring—or flattering—his own far-distant colonel, for the 34th was "Cavendish's own regiment." Before and after Farmar's time it was always referred to as Fort Chartres by all British officers and officials.

[105]The reviewer devoted the remainder of his space to quoting Pittman on the Illinois Country. Hodder (p. 15) wrote that *"The Gentleman's Magazine* printed a series of extracts" from the book, but on searching two different sets of this periodical I have not found such extracts. However, I did find in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1772 (XLII, 63) a letter signed J.P. describing a proposed colony on the banks of the Mississippi at the mouth of the Abbeville *(sic)* which made reference to the account of the Mississippi by Captain Pittman," lately employed by Government to survey it." There was a reply by "W.R." written from New Orleans 20 April 1772 and a further letter from "J.P." in October *(Ibid.,* 333-335, 509-510).

[106]For Champigny see my notes to Pittman's text for pp. 23, 57. The second edition of the Frenchman's book, entitled *Etat-Present de La Louisiane* (La Haye, 1776), was identical except for pagination.

[107]Hutchins' very rare book has recently been made available in a facsimile edition edited by James G. Tregle, Jr.

[108]Douglas W. Marshall, curator of maps at the Clements Libary, wrote me that Pittman went out to India as an engineer with the British East India Company. Professor Rea, summarizing the close of Pittman's life (pp. xxxix-xl) has noted his friendship with Edward Gibbon and his stepmother, Dorothea Gibbon. Some letter references to Pittman are to be found in Jane Elizabeth Norton (editor), *The Letters of Edward Gibbon* (3 vols., New York, Macmillan, 1956). The principal source for Pittman's activities in India is Henry Davison Love, *The Indian Records Series—Vestiges of Old Madras,* III, 9, 36-37, 54, 62, 345. Pittman's widow married secondly George Taswell (1776) and continued to live in Madras.

The Facsimile

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS ON THE MISSISIPPI;

WITH

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION of that RIVER.

ILLUSTRATED BY

PLANS AND DRAUGHTS.

By Captain PHILIP PITTMAN.

LONDON,
Printed for J. NOURSE, Bookſeller to His MAJESTY.
MDCCLXX.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS ON THE MISSISIPPI.

PREFACE.

THE European ſettlements on the river Miſſiſippi comprehend Louiſiana, part of Weſt Florida, and the country of the Illinois. Five years reſidence as an engineer in thoſe countries, during which time I was chiefly employed in ſurveying and exploring their interior parts, and an acquaintance with the principal inhabitants, enables me to ſpeak with at leaſt as much authority as any author who has hitherto wrote on the ſame ſubject.

Louiſiana is no longer the ſame as in the time of Pere Hennepin; and all other authors that I have read on this ſubject rather abound with Indian ſtories and *talks*, than with uſeful information.

Father Charlevoix made ſo rapid a progreſs through thoſe countries, that the greateſt part of what he advances muſt be from the doubtful information of others, and not from his own perſonal knowledge. Neither is the reader recompenſed by the ſmall quantity of pure ore he can extract from that maſs of droſs, in the elaborate accounts of Le Page du Pratz.

It may be thought extraordinary that I have confined my accounts to the banks of the Miſſiſippi, and not touched on the other parts of Weſt Florida, which may be ſuppoſed equally intereſting.

This work was originally wrote at the requeſt, and for the peruſal only, of the ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies;

and I imagined that he muſt have received every information neceſſary to form a perfect knowledge of that province, from perſons who have commanded in it. Beſides, my ingenious friend governor Johnſtone has told me, that he intends ſoon to publiſh a book on this ſubject; by which means the deficiency in mine will be amply made up, and the publick will have the advantage of receiving inſtruction and entertainment from a much more pleaſing and abler pen.

I am ſurpriſed that nobody has yet attempted to wipe off the unfavourable impreſſions that have taken place in the minds of many people, from the unjuſt reports made of the climate of Weſt Florida, and which ſtill retards the ſettling of that fine country. A regard for truth, and a deſire to render ſervice to that valuable province, the welfare of which has been obſtructed by ignorance and miſrepreſentation, makes me take this occaſion to ſhew the true cauſes of its ſuppoſed unhealthineſs.

Penſacola and Mobile have both proved fatal to our troops; the former from miſmanagement, the latter from its ſituation. When we took poſſeſſion of Penſacola, in the latter end of the year 1763, it conſiſted of a fort and a few ſtraggling houſes; the fort was conſtructed of high ſtockades, encloſing in a very ſmall ſpace a houſe for the governor, and ſeveral miſerable huts, built with pieces of bark, covered with the ſame materials, and moſt of them without floors; ſo that in the ſummer they were as hot as ſtoves, and the land engendered all ſorts of vermin: in theſe wretched habitations the officers and ſoldiers dwelt.

After

After we had poſſeſſion ſome time, the commandant, with a view of making the fortification more reſpectable, ſurrounded the fort with a ditch; which, in fact, could anſwer no other purpoſe, than holding a quantity of ſtagnated water to empoiſon the little air that could find its way into the garriſon. The thirty-firſt regiment of foot, which ſuffered remarkably from ſickneſs and mortality in this place, was ſent to it in the hotteſt part of the ſummer of 1765, unprovided with every thing neceſſary to preſerve health in ſuch a ſudden change of climate. Brigadier-general Haldimand, in the beginning of 1767, immediately after his arrival here, cauſed the enceinte of the fort to be conſiderably extended, widened the ſtreets, removed every thing that could obſtruct a free circulation of air, and laid the place open to the ſea, to give admiſſion to the breezes. The enſuing ſummer was exceſſive hot, the thermometer having roſe to one hundred and fourteen degrees; yet, by the ſalutary precautions the general had taken, the troops were remarkably healthy, few fell ſick, and ſcarce any died; although their lodgings, which of themſelves may be ſuppoſed ſufficient to deſtroy a good conſtitution, were little improved: from hence I preſume that Penſacola is as healthy as any Engliſh ſettlement in the ſouthern provinces of North America.

Mobile is ſituated on the banks of the river of that name, juſt at the place where the freſh and ſalt waters mix; when the tide goes out it leaves an abundance of ſmall fiſhes on the marſhes which lie oppoſite the town, and the heat of the ſun in ſummer kills the fiſh; and the ſtench of them, of the ſtagnated water in the neighbouring ſwamps, and the ſlimy mud, render the air putrid. To this

this may be added, that the water of the wells is brackiſh, and there is none to be found wholſome within leſs than one mile and a half of the place. The twenty-firſt regiment of foot was ſent to Mobile at the ſame time that the *thirty-firſt* regiment garriſoned Penſacola, and being equally unprovided with things neceſſary for troops newly arrived from Europe, and unſeaſoned to ſuch a climate, ſuffered almoſt as much. I ſhall only add on this ſubject, which is a little diſtant from the true intent of my preface, that Weſt Florida poſſeſſes the greateſt advantage, as to its ſituation for commerce, and the communications to the different parts are rendered eaſy by fine navigable rivers, the banks of which are covered by a freſh luxuriant ſoil, capable of producing every thing natural to theſe climates.

I have endeavoured to be as conciſe as poſſible; indeed the purpoſe it was wrote for ſeemed to demand it: I could with eaſe have been much more diffuſe on ſubjects in which ſo much matter is contained.

It is with fear and diffidence that I preſume to appear as an author; but a deſire of communicating what I have been aſſured by friends would be of uſe to the publick, has been my only inducement; and if they have judged right, my utmoſt wiſhes will be amply gratified.

A PLAN of MOBILE

Reference.

A . *Fort Charlotte* .....

B . *Governor's House* .....

C . *Barracks* .....

D . *Bake House* .....

E . *Indian House* .....

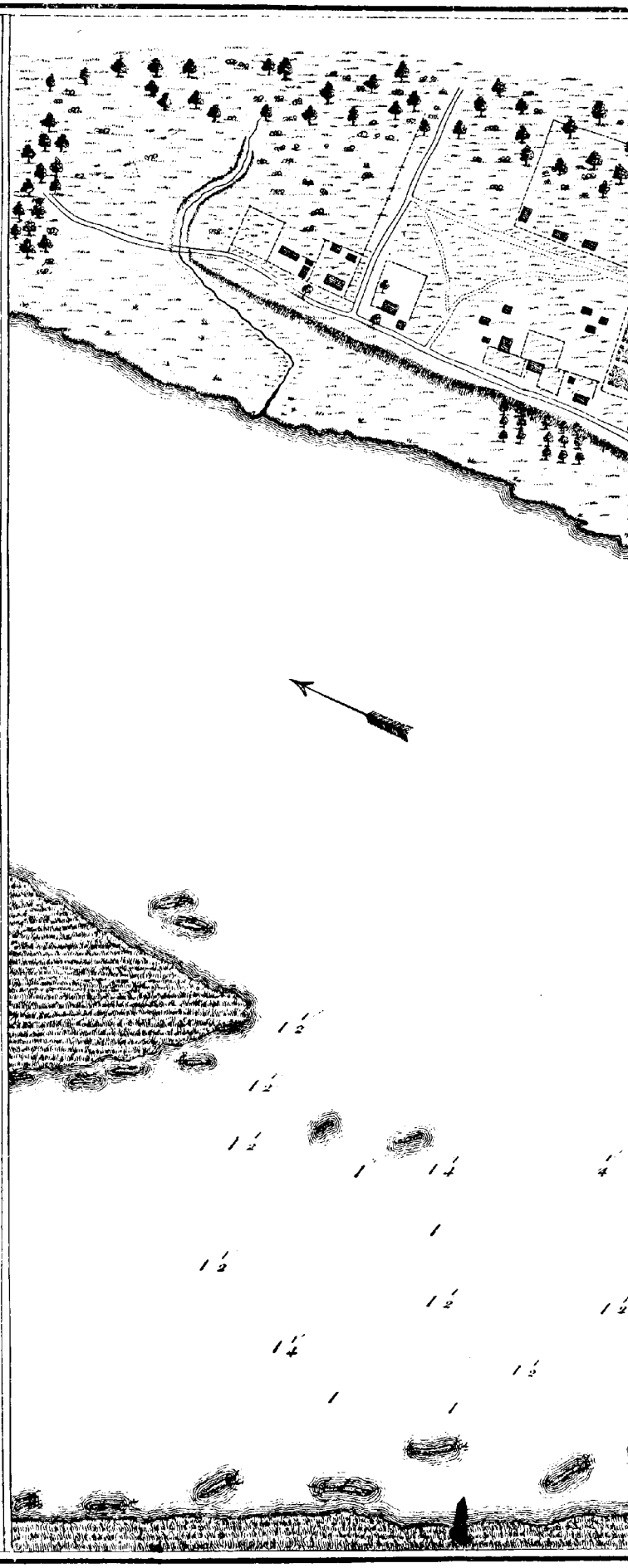
F . *Provision Magazine* .....

G . *Hospital* .....

Scale

100 200 400 800 1200

Feet



Thos. Hitchin Sculpsit.

A
B
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C
D
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THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

On the MISSISIPPI.

Of the River MISSISIPPI.

THE river Miſſiſippi has been known by a variety of names; the firſt diſcoverers from Canada gave it the name of Colbert, in honour to that great miniſter, who was then in power. The famous adventurer, Monſieur de Salle, when he diſcovered the mouth, called it the river Saint Louis, by which name it has ever been diſtinguiſhed in all publick acts, reſpecting the province of Louiſſianna: But its preſent general appellation of Miſſiſippi is a corruption of *Metchaſippi*; by which name it is ſtill known to the Northern Savages, that word ſignifying, in their language, the Father of Rivers.

Nothing can, with propriety, be aſſerted with reſpect to the ſource of this river, tho' there are people ſtill exiſting, who pretend to have been there. The accounts, which I think ſhould be paid moſt attention to, are thoſe which have been given by the *Sioux*, a

very numerous itinerant nation of Indians, who generally reſide in the countries North of the Miſſiſippi: A few of them have ſometimes come to the French poſt, on the River Illinois, to barter ſkins and furrs; but in general they diſlike the Europeans, and have little inclination to be much acquainted with them. Their account is as follows: The river Miſſiſippi riſes from a very extenſive ſwamp, and its waters are encreaſed by ſeveral rivers (ſome of them not inconſiderable) emptying themſelves into it in its courſe to the fall of St. Anthony, which, by their accounts, is not leſs than ſeven hundred leagues from the great ſwamps: This is formed by a rock running a-croſs the river, and falls about twelve feet perpendicular; and this place is known to be eight hundred leagues from the ſea. So that it is moſt probable that the Miſſiſippi runs, at leaſt, four thouſand five hundred miles.

The principal rivers which fall into the Miſſiſippi, below the fall of St. Anthony, are, the river St. Pierre, which comes from the Weſt; Saint Croix, from the Eaſt; Moingona, which is two hundred and fifty leagues below the fall, comes from the Weſt, and is ſaid to run one hundred and fifty leagues; and the river Illinois, the ſource of which is near the lake Michigan, Eaſt of the Miſſiſippi two hundred leagues.

The ſource of the river Miſſoury is unknown; the French traders go betwixt three and four hundred leagues up, to traffic with the Indians who inhabit near its banks, and this branch of commerce is very conſiderable; it employs annually eight thouſand pounds worth of European goods, including a ſmall quantity of rum, of all which the freight amounts to about one hundred per cent. Their returns are, at leaſt, at the rate of three hundred per cent. ſo that they are certain of two hundred per cent. profit. The mouth of this great river is five leagues below the river Illinois, and is generally called five hundred from the ſea, tho' in fact it is not more than four hundred and fifty. From its confluence to its ſource is ſuppoſed to be

eight

eight hundred leagues, running from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt. The muddy waters of the Miſſoury prevail over thoſe of the Miſſiſippi, running with violent rapidity to the ocean. The Miſſiſippi glides with a gentle and clear ſtream, 'till it meets with this interruption. The next river of note, is the Ohio or Belle Riviere; it empties itſelf about ſeventy leagues below the Miſſoury: its ſource is near the lake Erie, running from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt, upwards of four hundred leagues.

Ninety leagues further down is the river Saint Francis, on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi: this is a very ſmall river, and is remarkable for nothing but being the general rendez-vous of the hunters from New Orleans, who winter there, and make a proviſion of ſalted meats, ſuet, and bears oil, for the ſupply of that city. The river Arkanſas is thirty-five leagues lower down, and two hundred from New Orleans; it is ſo called from a nation of Indians of the ſame name; its ſource is ſaid to be in the ſame latitude as Santa Fé in New Mexico, and holds its courſe near three hundred leagues.

The river Yazous comes from the north-eaſt, and diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſippi, ſixty leagues from the Arkanſas: formerly a nation of Indians of the ſame name had their villages on it, and there was a French poſt and ſettlement. The nation is entirely extinct, and there is not the leaſt trace of any ſettlement.

It is near ſixty leagues from this little river to the river Rouge, which is ſo called from its waters, being of a reddiſh colour, and they tinge thoſe of the Miſſiſippi at the time of the floods; its ſource is in New Mexico, and it runs about two hundred leagues: the river Noir empties itſelf into this river about ten leagues from its confluence. The famous Ferdinand Soto ended his diſcoveries at the entrance of the river Rouge, and was buried there.

Near ſeventy leagues up this river is a very conſiderable poſt, belonging to the French; it is a frontier on the Spaniſh ſettlements, being twenty miles from the Fort of Adaies. The French fort is garriſoned by a captain, two ſubalterns, and about fifty men: there are forty families, conſiſting moſtly of diſcharged ſoldiers, and ſome merchants who trade with the Spaniards. A great quantity of tobacco is cultivated at this port, and ſells for a good price at New Orleans, being held in great eſteem: they ſend alſo ſome peltry, which they receive in trade from the neighbouring Indians.

From the river Rouge to the ſea, there are only ſome ſmall brooks, of no account. The Bayouk of Pelouſas, which is about three miles from the river Rouge and the river Ibberville, are deſcribed in the account hereafter given of the ſettlements on the river Miſſiſippi.

It is peculiar to the river Miſſiſippi, that no part of the waters which overflow its banks, ever return to their former channel: this is a circumſtance, which I believe is not to be met with in any other river in the world. All the lands from the river Ibbeville to the ſea, have been formed in the ſucceſſion of ages, by the vaſt quantities of ſlimy mud, trees, dead wood, and leaves which the river brings down at its annual floods, which begin in the month of March, by the melting of the ſnow and ice in the northern parts. This innundation continues three months. The muddy lands produce long graſs, canes, and reeds in great abundance: at the overflowings of the river, the graſs, canes, and reeds ſtop great quantities of the mud and rubbiſh that deſcend with the current. The long graſs, &c. neareſt the river, muſt receive a greater quantity of this rubbiſh than that which is more diſtant, and this cauſes the bank of the Miſſiſippi to be higher than the interior land, and accounts for the waters never returning to the river; and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the lakes on each ſide are parts of the ſea, not yet filled up. Thus the land is annually raiſed, and continually gains

gains on the ſea. The Balize, a ſmall fort, erected by the French on a little iſland, was, in the year 1734, at the mouth of the river; it is now two miles up. In the year 1767, Don Antonio D'Ulloa erected ſome barracks on a ſmall iſland (to which he gave the name of Saint Carlos) for the convenience of pilots, and other purpoſes, being near the ſouth-eaſt entrance of the river, and a more dry and higher ſituation than any thereabouts. There was not the leaſt appearance of this iſland twenty years ago.

Before I quit this ſubject, I muſt obſerve, that on digging ten or twelve feet in the lands I have above deſcribed, large bodies of trees have been frequently found. The craw-fiſh abound in this country; they are in every part of the earth, and when the inhabitants chuſe a diſh of them, they ſend to their gardens, where they have a ſmall pond dug for that purpoſe, and are ſure of getting as many as they have occaſion for. A diſh of ſhrimps is as eaſily procured by hanging a ſmall canvas bag with a bit of meat in it, to the bank of the river, and letting it drop a little below the ſurface of the water; in a few hours a ſufficient quantity will have got into the bag. Shrimps are found in the Miſſiſippi as far as Natches, which is near one hundred and thirty leagues from the ſea.

I have before mentioned, that the river-water is remarkably muddy: I have filled a half-pint tumbler with it, and have found a ſediment of two inches of ſlime. It is, notwithſtanding, extremely wholeſome and well taſted, and very cool in the hotteſt ſeaſons of the year; and the rowers, who are then employed, drink of it when they are in the ſtrongeſt perſpiration, and never receive any bad effects from it. The inhabitants of New Orleans uſe no other water than that of the river, which, by keeping in a jar, becomes perfectly clear.

The navigation of the Miſſiſippi is confined to veſſels not drawing above ſeventeen feet water, there being little more in the deep-

eſt

eſt channel on the bar, which is ſubject to ſhift very often; ſo that a pilot is conſtantly employed in ſounding. On every part of the bar there is nine feet water, and ſmall veſſels go over it without fear: frigates of thirty-ſix guns have often gone through the channel, after taking their guns out. When once a veſſel has croſsed the bar, the remainder of the navigation is very ſafe, keeping clear of the great trees, which float down with the current. When winds are contrary, veſſels make faſt to the trees on the banks of the river, and haul cloſe, there being ſufficient depth of water for any ſhip whatever. It is impoſſible to anchor without being expoſed to the danger of the great trees which come down with the current almoſt continually, but more eſpecially at the time of the floods, which if any of them ſhould come athwart hawſe, would moſt probably drive in the bows of the veſſel; and there is a certainty of looſing the anchors, as the bottom of the river is very ſoft mud, covered with ſunk logs, and is in general at leaſt ſixty fathoms deep, and this ſort of bottom and depth continues almoſt as far as the Natches; and all veſſels that enter the river, can go up within three miles of that poſt.

The merchandize neceſſary for the commerce to Natchitoches, Miſſoury, and in general the upper poſts on or near the Miſſiſippi, is carried by Batteaus, which are rowed by eighteen or twenty men, and contain about forty tons burthen; they are commonly three months going from New Orleans to the Illinois. They always go in convoys from New Orleans, and before they ſet out appoint an officer from amongſt themſelves to command them; or apply for a king's officer for that purpoſe; and whenever they put on ſhore to eat their meals, or encamp for the night, they have a regular guard mounted: they uſe theſe precautions for fear of any attack from the Indians. The Chicaſhaws formerly were very troubleſome to them. Two of theſe convoys, conſiſting of from

ſeven

ſeven to twelve Batteaus, go from New Orleans twice a year, viz. in the ſpring and autumn.

In the ſpring the Miſſiſippi is very high; and tho' the current is ſo ſtrong that nothing can make head againſt it in the middle of the river, they have an advantge by an eddy or counter-current, which runs in the bends, and cloſe to the banks of the river, and greatly facilitates their voyage. The current, at this ſeaſon, runs at the rate of ſix or ſeven miles an hour: in autumn, when the waters are low, it in general does not run above two miles an hour, except in ſome parts of the river, above the Arkanſas, where there are a great many iſlands, ſhoals, and ſand-banks of ſome miles circumference, which make the voyage more dangerous, longer, and leſs expeditious, than in the ſpring; and this makes it further neceſſary, that boats ſhould go in convoys, that they may aſſiſt each other in caſe of meeting with any of the accidents they are ſo evidently expoſed to. Great pieces of coal are conſtantly found on the ſand-banks, from whence it may be concluded, that there are coal-mines on the upper parts of the Miſſiſippi.

OF THE

POST and SETTLEMENTS

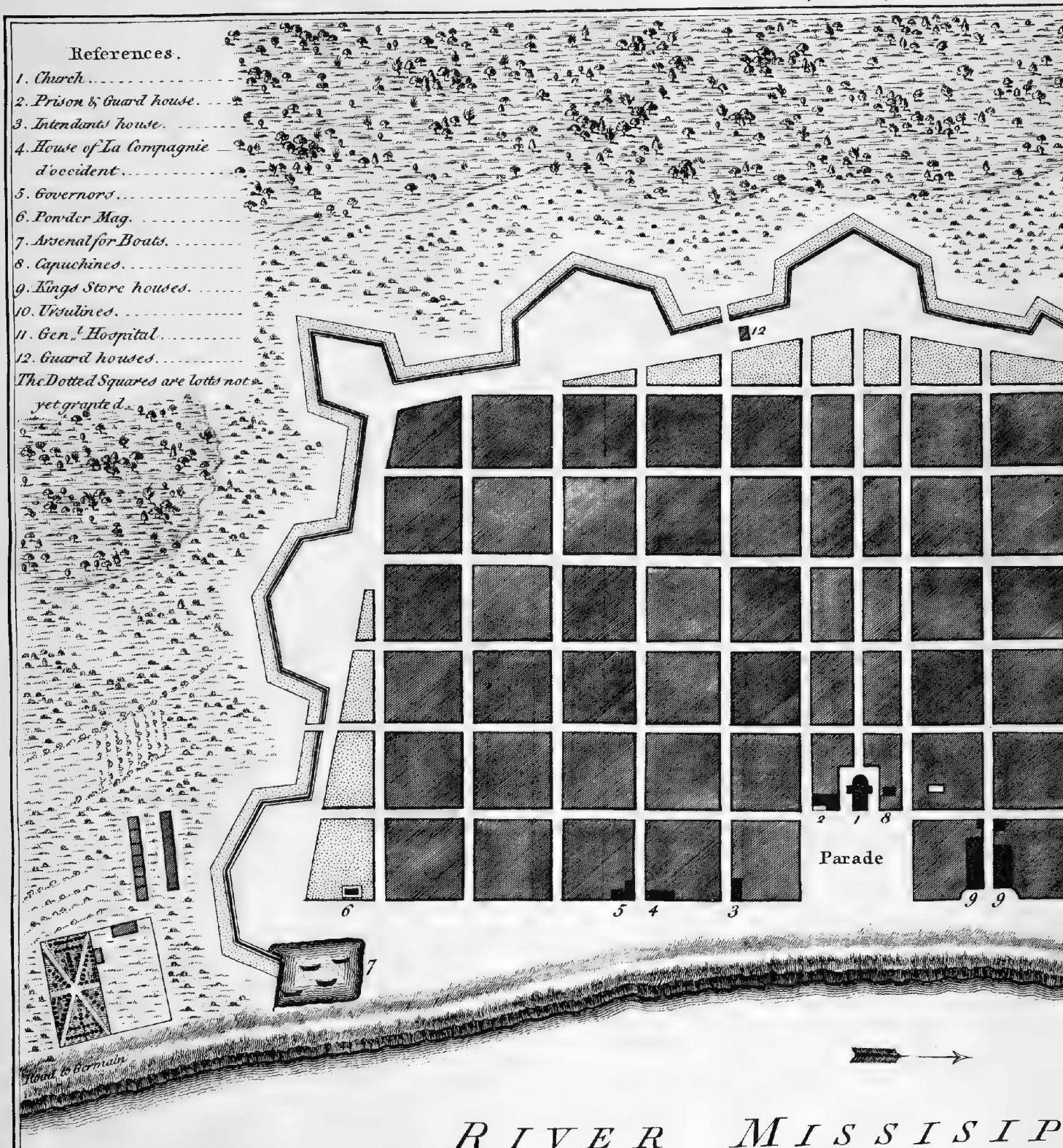
ON THE

MISSISIPPI.

TO proceed with order and facility in deſcribing the poſts which are on the Miſſiſippi, and thoſe which communicate with that river, I ſhall begin with the Balize, and ſo go on, aſcending the river. The iſland of Saint Carlos, of which I have before ſpoke, is near the entrance of the Miſſiſippi, and lies in twenty-nine degrees north latitude, and in eighty-nine degrees ten minutes longitude from the meridian of London: there are houſes for the reſidence of an officer, twenty ſoldiers, a pilot, and a chaplain. The reaſon of eſtabliſhing this poſt, is that aſſiſtance may be given to veſſels coming into the river, and to forward intelligence or diſpatches to New Orleans: This is called the Balize as well as the French poſt, which lies two miles eaſt of the entrance of the river, and was originally built with the ſame deſign, and as a defence for the mouth of the river: its ſituation (which is very low and ſwampy) would never admit of any ſtrong fortification; but what there was, is now gone to ruin: nothing remains but the ſoldiers barracks, and three or four guns *en barbette*. From this place nothing is to be ſeen but low marſhes, continually overflowed, till we get within a few leagues of the Detour de L'Anglois, where there are ſome few plantations, moſt of which are but very late eſtabliſhments, and are, as yet, but of very little conſequence. At the Detour the river forms almoſt a circle; ſo that veſſels cannot paſs it with the ſame wind that conducted them to it, and are obliged to wait for a ſhift of wind. This gave the idea to the French, of

 building

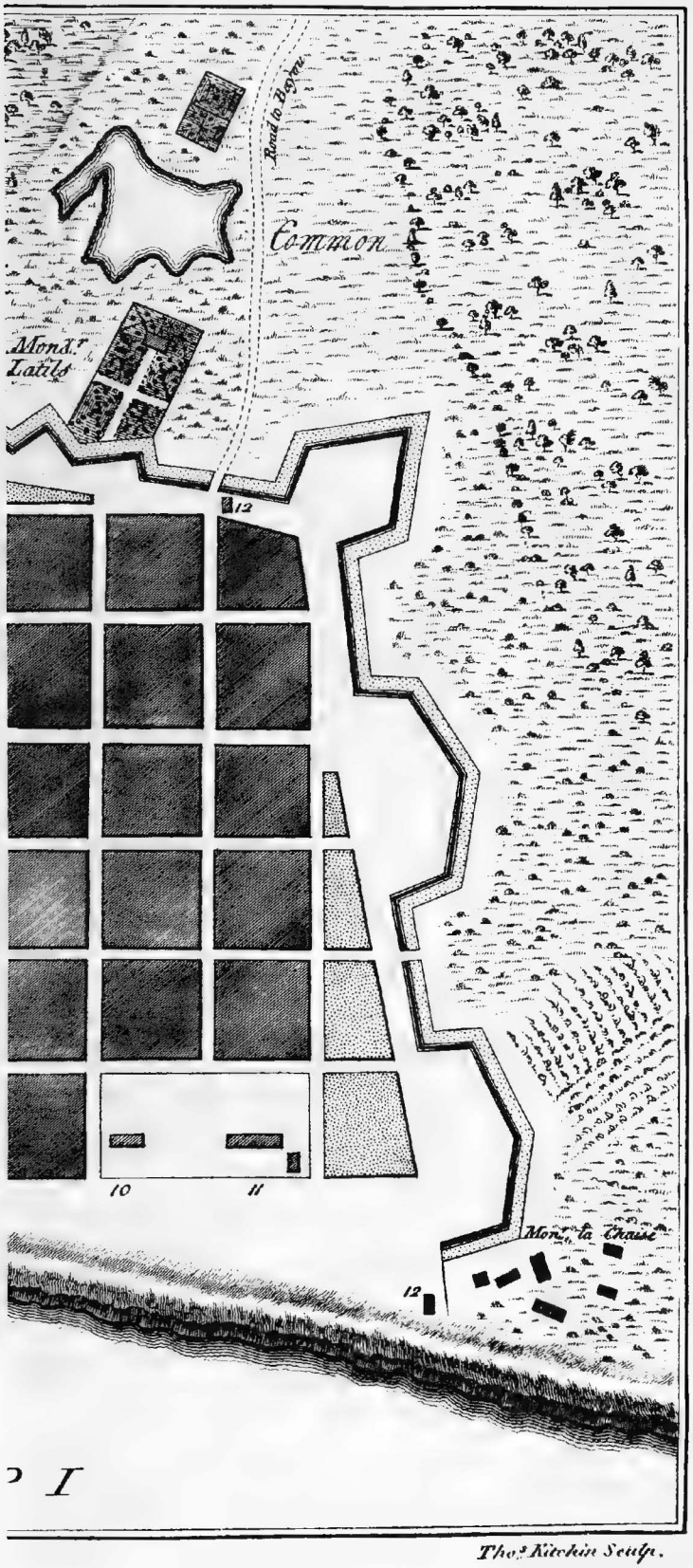
PLAN OF NEW ORLEANS. NB, No plan yet Published b



RIVER MISSISIP

600 ft to an Inch.

this, being its present State.



Tho.s Kitchin Sculp.

building two forts at this Paſs, one on each ſide of the river, to prevent the enterpriſes of any enemies; for although the forts are only encloſures of ſtockades and a defence againſt ſmall arms, the batteries on each ſide, which are of ten twelve-pounders, are more than ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of any veſſel, as there is no poſſibility of mooring nor of making a veſſel faſt on ſhore: the impoſſibility of mooring has been before accounted for by the deſcription given of the bed of the river. The going on ſhore is equally impoſſible, as the forts are on points of land, which are bounded by the river on one ſide and by ſwamps on the other, ſo that any attacks againſt them muſt prove unſucceſsful. Such is the ſituation of theſe forts, which might beſides receive continual reinforcements from the inhabitants in their neighbourhood, and from New Orleans, which is but ſeventeen miles diſtant. The authors who have wrote concerning Louiſiana have given many different reaſons for this place being called the *Detour des Anglois*; I ſhall give that which appears the moſt probable.

The officers who had been ſent to reconoitre the Miſſiſippi, and to report the propereſt place to build the capital of Louiſiana on, in their return to Mobile, going down the river, ſaw an Engliſh brig made faſt to the ſhore, which curioſity had induced to go thus far up, and was waiting for a fair wind to proceed on further diſcoveries. The plantations and the well-built houſes on each ſide the river afford a very pleaſing and agreeable proſpect, which continues till we arrive at New Orleans; and this, with a tolerable fair wind, is an affair of about four hours.

NEW ORLEANS.

NEW ORLEANS ſtands on the eaſt ſide of the river, and in 30°. north latitude; its ſituation is extremely well choſen, as it has a very eaſy communication with the northern parts of Louiſiana (now Weſt Florida) by means of the Bayouk of St. John, a little creek, which is navigable for ſmall veſſels drawing leſs than ſix feet water, ſix miles up from the lake Ponchartain, where there is a landing-place, at which the veſſels load and unload; and this is about two miles from the city. The entrance of the Bayouk of St. John is defended by a battery of ſix guns and a ſerjeant's guard. The veſſels which come up the Miſſiſippi haul cloſe along-ſide the bank next to New Orleans, to which they make faſt, and take in or diſcharge their cargoes with the ſame facility as from a wharf. The town is ſecured from the inundations of the river by a raiſed bank, generally called the Levée; and this extends from the *Detour des Anglois*, to the upper ſettlement of the Germans, which is a diſtance of more than fifty miles, and a good coach-road all the way. The Levée before the town is repaired at the public expence, and each inhabitant keeps that part in repair which is oppoſite to his own plantation. Having deſcribed the ſituation of the city of New Orleans, I will proceed to its plan of conſtruction.

The parade is a large ſquare, in the middle of that part of the town which fronts the river; in the back part of the ſquare is the church dedicated to St. Louis, a very poor building, framed with wood; it is in ſo ruinous a condition that divine ſervice has not been performed in it ſince the year 1766, one of the king's ſtore-houſes being at preſent uſed for that purpoſe. The capuchins are the curates of New Orleans; on the left hand ſide of the church

they had a very handſome and commodious brick houſe, which is totally deſerted and gone to ruin; they now live on their plantation, and in a hired houſe in town. On the right hand ſide of the church is the priſon and guard-houſe, which are very ſtrong and good buildings. The two ſides of the ſquare were formerly occupied by barracks for the troops, which are entirely deſtroyed. The ſquare is open to the river, and on that ſide are twenty-one pieces of ordnance, en barbette, which are fired on public rejoicings. All the ſtreets are perfectly ſtraight, and croſs each other at right angles, and theſe divide the town into ſixty-ſix ſquares, eleven in length by the river's ſide, and ſix in depth; the ſides of theſe ſquares are one hundred yards each, and are divided into twelve lotts, for the eſtabliſhment of the inhabitants. The intendant's houſe and gardens take up the right ſide of the parade, the left ſide is occupied by the king's ſtore-houſes and an artillery-yard. There is at preſent no building ſet on part for the governor; his general reſidence is in a large houſe, which was formerly the property of the company who were the proprietors of Louiſiana, known by the name of *la compagnie d'occident*. The agent of the company is now owner of the houſe. The convent of the Urſulines and general hoſpital, which is attended by the nuns, occupy the two left hand ſquares facing the river: theſe buildings are ſtrong and plain, well anſwering the purpoſes for which they were deſigned. The general plan of building in the town, is with timber frames filled up with brick; and moſt of the houſes are but of one floor, raiſed about eight feet from the ground, with large galleries round them, and the cellars under the floors level with the ground; it is impoſſible to have any ſubterraneous buildings, as they would be conſtantly full of water. I imagine that there are betwixt ſeven and eight hundred houſes in the town, moſt of which have gardens. The ſquares at the back and ſides of the town are moſtly laid out in gardens; the orange-trees, with which they are planted, are not unpleaſant objects, and in the ſpring afford an agreeable ſmell.

There are, excluſive of the ſlaves, about ſeven thouſand inhabitants in town, of all ages and ſexes. The fortifications are only an *enceinte* of ſtockades, with a *banquette* within and a very trifling ditch without; theſe can anſwer no end but againſt Indians, or negroes, in caſe of an inſurrection, and keep the ſlaves of the town and country from having any communication in the night. There are about four hundred ſoldiers kept for the police of the town and country; theſe belong to the detached companies of the marines: there are alſo ten companies of militia, four choſen from the inhabitants of the town, the planters and their ſervants form the remainder.

The government of Louiſiana is compoſed of a governor, an intendant, and a royal council. The governor is inveſted with a great deal of power, which, however, on the ſide of the crown is checked by the intendant, who has the care of the king's rights, and whatever relates to the revenue; and on the ſide of the people it is checked by the royal council, whoſe office it partly is to ſee that the people are not oppreſſed by the one nor defrauded by the other. The royal council, who ſtile themſelves *Le Conſeil ſuperieur de la Louiſiane*, conſiſt of the intendant, who is firſt judge, the king's attorney, ſix of the principal inhabitants, and the regiſter of the province; and they judge in all criminal and civil matters. Every man has a right to plead his own cauſe before them, either verbally or by a written petition; and the evidences called on by each party attend the examination of the council. In a court like this, eloquence or great abilities cannot ſupport injuſtice or confound truth.

The intendant is commiſſary of the marine and judge of the admiralty; and he decides, in a ſummary manner, all diſputes between merchants, or whatever elſe has a relation to trade. A final reference may be made from any judgment given by the intendant

or

or council to the parliament of Paris. On the firſt eſtabliſhment of the colony, nothing that could tend to render it flouriſhing or happy was unthought of. I ſhall mention one inſtance of the lenity and wiſdom of the legiſlature; but the diſhoneſty of governors and intendants, as well as the corruption and relaxation of the government in France ſince that time, has totally perverted or ſunk into oblivion regulations that were ſo evidently calculated for the happineſs of the ſubject. The planter is conſidered as a Frenchman venturing his life, enduring a ſpecies of baniſhment, and undergoing great hardſhips for the benefit of his country; for which reaſon he has great indulgence ſhewn. Whenever by hurricanes, earthquakes, or bad ſeaſons, the planters ſuffer, a ſtop is put to the rigor of exacting creditors. The few taxes which are levied are remitted, and even advances are made to repair their loſſes and ſet them forward. On the other hand, there can be no temptation to the planter to run fraudulently into debt, to the prejudice of the French merchant, as all debts, though contracted by the planters in France, are levied with great eaſe. The proceſs, properly authenticated, is tranſmitted to America, and admitted as proof there, and levied on the planter's eſtate, of whatever kind it may be. However, care is taken that whilſt compulſory methods are uſed to make the planter do juſtice, the ſtate ſhall not loſe the induſtry of a uſeful member of the community; the debt is always levied according to the ſubſtance of the debtor. Thus one party is not ſacrificed to the other, they both ſubſiſt; the creditor is ſatisfied, and the debtor not ruined.

The paper money which circulated in this province has almoſt effected its ruin, owing to the mal-adminiſtration of Monſ. Kerlerec, who was governor during the laſt war. As the ſending money from France, at that time, to pay the civil and military officers, troops, and other exigences of government, would have been attended with too much riſque, the governor and intendant were ordered to iſſue out paper money, which were called

called Bons *, being notes for ſmall ſums, payable in bills of exchange, drawn at three months ſight on the treaſury of France. Theſe Bons were from ten ſols to one hundred livres; and whoever collected a certain ſum, as three or four hundred livres at leaſt, was entitled to a bill of exchange in lieu of the Bons, which he paid to the treaſurer of the province. The governor and intendant empowered the commandants and commiſſaries at our ports to iſſue out notes of the ſame kind, for proviſions, public works, and Indian preſents. Thus the debts contracted with the merchants and inhabitants during the war amounted to very large ſums, and the abuſes made of this great truſt rendered the expences of the colony enormous. Monſ. de Kerlerec, and ſome other officers, took opportunities of negotiating bills by way of Jamaica and other Engliſh colonies, before the peace was concluded: the amount of theſe bills was very conſiderable and was duly paid. The demands of money from Louiſiana and expences of Canada ſo far exceeded all expectation, and the treaſury of France being drained, the king, by an edict in 1759, ſtopped payment of this colony's bills, to the amount of ſeven millions of livres, on pretence of no authenticated vouchers, or accounts of the publick expences being arrived. In the latter end of the year 1763, Monſ. Kerlerec was recalled, and Monſ. de Rochemaure, the intendant, left the colony ſome time before, and died ſhortly after his arrival in France. Monſ. D'Abbadie was ſent out as director-general, and was inveſted with the powers of both governor and intendant: he was inſtructed to reform the abuſes which had taken place in the publick offices, and to endeavour to reſtore tranquility to the inhabitants, who were almoſt engaged in a civil war, by entering into the diſputes of their governor and intendant, which were firſt oc-

* The tenor of theſe Bons was as follows:

N° a la Nouvelle Orleans.

Bon pour la ſomme de ———— payable en lettres de change ſur le treſor

Signed { The Governor and Intendant.

caſioned

caſioned by the arrival of two Engliſh flags of truce, during the war, loaded with dry goods, one of which was from Jamaica and the other from Rhode Iſland. Whilſt Monſ. de Kerlerec held a congreſs with the Creek and Chactaw Indians at Mobile, Monſ. de Rochemaure ſeized the veſſels, impriſoned the captains and crew, and lodged the cargoes in the king's ſtore-houſes. Monſ. de Kerlerec on his return to New Orleans, ordered the captains and ſailors to be releaſed, reſtored their veſſels to them, and permitted them to ſell the cargoes for the benefit of the owners. Many of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants and ſome officers remonſtrated againſt this proceeding, and repreſented the danger of admitting Engliſh ſubjects to trade in the time of war, who would become acquainted with the navigation of the river, and be enabled to give a true account of the then weak ſituation of the province, which would fall an eaſy prey to their enemies. The friends of Monſ. Kerlerec, on the other hand, petitioned that the cargoes might be publickly ſold, and the Engliſh protected; that the colony was in the greateſt want of the goods brought by the flags of truce; that it was an act of humanity in the Engliſh governors who had granted thoſe commiſſions; that this was the only method by which they could be ſupplied with what they were in the greateſt neceſſity for; and ſhould he take harſh meaſures with theſe people, the colony muſt be totally excluded from all hopes of future aſſiſtance till a peace, of which there was not then the leaſt proſpect. But to return to the paper money: Monſ. D'Abbadie called in a great quantity of the bills of exchange and Bons, depreciating their value ſeventy-five per cent. and iſſued out new paper money, ſigned by him, which he put on a par with ſpecie; as, for example, a Bon of five livres was equal to one dollar or piece of eight, and ſeventy livres of the old paper was only equal to one dollar. Thus the induſtrious planter was defrauded of three-fourths of his property.

Monſ.

Monſ. D'Abbadie died in February 1765, ſince which the paper money iſſued by him has fallen twenty-five per cent. from its original value. On the death of Monſ. D'Abbadie, Monſ. Aubry, commandant of the troops, ſucceeded him as governor, and Monſ. Foucault, *commiſſaire ordonnateur*, as intendant. Theſe gentlemen continued to act in their reſpective ſtations, notwithſtanding the ceſſion of the colony to the crown of Spain in 1764. Don Antonio D'Ulloa arrived at New Orleans about the middle of the year 1766, but refuſed to take the government of the colony on him, until he ſhould have a ſufficient armed force to eſtabliſh his authority. In the beginning of the year 1767 two hundred Spaniſh ſoldiers were ſent from the Havanna, but theſe he did not think ſufficient to enforce his commands in a country where the Spaniſh government was held in the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation; he ſent about ſixty of theſe troops to erect two forts, one oppoſite fort Bute, on the mouth of the Ibbeville, and the other on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi, oppoſite the Natches; the remainder were ſent in the autumn of 1767 to build a fort at the mouth of the river Miſſoury; but the commandant was forbid to interfere with the civil government of their ſettlements in the Illinois country, where Monſ. De Saint Ange continues to command with about twenty French ſoldiers. Don Antonio D'Ulloa, who had already carried a high hand over the inhabitants, received ſome orders from his court, by which the commerce of the colony was greatly reſtricted, and which were ſo diſagreeable to the coloniſts, that they revolted from the dominion of the crown of Spain; and the council, by an edict, inſerted at the end of this work, obliged him and the principal Spaniſh officers to leave the province in November 1768, notwithſtanding M. Aubry's remonſtrances and the proteſt he made againſt the edict of the council.

Monſ. de Sacier, one of the council, with two other gentlemen of the colony, was ſent to France with this edict, and to implore

the protection of the king; they were impriſoned on their arrival, and have never been heard of ſince.

During ſix months, which elapſed before news could be received from Europe, the unhappy coloniſts vainly flattered themſelves with hopes of being juſtified for the ſteps they had taken by the court of France. On the 23d of July, 1769, news was brought to New Orleans of the arrival of general O'Reily at the Balize, with eighteen tranſports, followed by ten more from the Havanna, having four thouſand five hundred troops on board, and loaded with ſtores and ammunition. This intelligence threw the town into the greateſt conſternation and perplexity, as, but a few days before, letters had arrived from Europe ſignifying that the colony was reſtored to France.

In the general diſtraction that took place, the inhabitants of the town and the adjacent plantations determined to oppoſe the landing of the Spaniards, and ſent couriers requiring the Germans and Acadian neutrals to join them. On the 24th an expreſs arrived from general O'Reily, which was read by Monſ. Aubry to the people in church; by this they were informed that he was ſent by his catholic majeſty to take poſſeſſion of the colony, but not to diſtreſs the inhabitants; and that when he ſhould be in poſſeſſion he would publiſh the remaining part of the orders he had in charge from the king his maſter; and ſhould any attempt be made to oppoſe his landing, he was reſolved not to depart until he could put his majeſty's commands in execution.

The people, diſſatisfied with this ambiguous meſſage, came to a reſolution of ſending three deputies to Mr. O'Reily, viz. Meſſrs. Grandmäiſon, town-major, La Friniere, attorney-general, and De Mazant, formerly captain in the colony's troops and a man of very conſiderable property; theſe gentlemen acquainted him, that the inhabitants had come to a reſolution of abandoning the province,

and demanded no other favour than that he would grant them two years to remove themſelves and effects. The general received the deputies with great politeneſs, but did not enter into the merits of their embaſſy, farther than aſſuring them that he would comply with every reaſonable requeſt of the coloniſts; that he had the intereſt of their country much at heart, and nothing on his part ſhould be wanting to promote it; that all paſt tranſactions ſhould be buried in oblivion, and all who had offended ſhould be forgiven: to this he added every thing that he imagined could flatter the expectations of the people. On the 1ſt of Auguſt the deputies returned, and made publick the kind reception the general had given them, and the fair promiſes he had made. The minds of the people were now greatly tranquilized, and thoſe who had before determined ſuddenly to quit their plantations now reſolved to remain until their crops were off the ground.

During the abſence of the deputies, ſeveral of the principal inhabitants applied to captain-lieutenant Campbell, late of the thirty-fourth regiment, then at New Orleans, to acquaint the governor of Weſt Florida that they were deſirous of becoming Britiſh ſubjects, and to beg that he would ſend a proper perſon to tender them the oath of allegiance, and to diſtribute the lands, on the banks of the river betwixt the Ibbeville and Natches, for them to ſettle on; and that they were to be joined by near two-thirds of the French inhabitants, and by German and Accadian families, of which ſix hundred men were capable of bearing arms. Theſe would have proved a valuable acquiſition to the province of Weſt Florida, and it is rather unfortunate that at this time there were no troops in the forts of Natches and Ibbeville to give them protection.

On the 16th of Auguſt general O'Reily arrived at New Orleans with one frigate and twenty-two tranſports, and came on ſhore the day following to reconnoitre the ground for diſembarking, and

the grand parade for drawing up his troops; he was attended by Monſ. Aubry and the ſtaff of the garriſon; he returned on board ſoon after, and was ſaluted by the frigate and the garriſon. Orders were given for the troops to diſembark on the 18th, at four o'clock in the morning, by firing one gun from the frigate; ſtages being previouſly made to reach from the ſhore to the ſides of the ſhips for the ſoldiers to paſs over.

On a ſignal being given all the troops began to move, and in leſs than ten minutes were formed on the bank of the river, and from thence marched to the grand parade, where they formed the ſquare. The ſhips were dreſſed with the colours of different nations, and the ſhrouds and yards crouded with ſailors. On the general's going on ſhore he was ſaluted by the frigate, and received four cheers from the ſailors; and on his coming on the parade there was a general diſcharge of cannon and ſmall arms from the garriſon and militia, attended with muſick and drums. Don Alex. O'Reily and Monſ. Aubry, with their attendants, followed by a croud of inhabitants, went to that angle of the parade where the flag-ſtaff ſtood. Monſ. Aubry, as governor, opened his orders from his moſt chriſtian majeſty, to deliver up the town and iſland of New Orleans, and province of Louiſiana, to Don Alex. O'Reily, in the name of his catholick majeſty; and expreſſed his happineſs and ſatisfaction in being ſucceeded in the command of that country by a man of his humanity and worth; to which general O'Reily anſwered, "I ſhall make it the rule of my future conduct in government, to imitate thoſe wiſe and prudent maxims in adminiſtring juſtice by which you have gained the hearts of the people, even at the moſt critical juncture." The Spaniſh colours were now hoiſted, and honoured by another general diſcharge of artillery and ſmall arms from the garriſon; his excellency and attendants went to church, and ſung Te Deum, whilſt the guards were relieving: after church was over, the parade was diſmiſſed, and the ſoldiers went to the barracks appointed for them.

On the 19th of Auguſt the town militia was reviewed: from this day the time was paſſed in receiving and making viſits until the 25th in the morning, when the inhabitants went to pay their reſpects to their new governor; as they entered the hall, he deſired them to place themſelves ſingly round the room, and holding a paper in his hand, containing the names of the perſons principally concerned in the late inſurrection, ſuch as were preſent he begged to walk into the next room, where an officer and guard attended to take them into cuſtody; ſuch as were abſent he ſent for, to the number of thirteen, and confined them in ſeparate apartments, ſome on board ſhip, others to guards and common priſons, where they were detained to take their trials for high treaſon; their ſlaves and other effects were ſeized in the king's name. On the 27th a proclamation was publiſhed, ordering the inhabitants to take the oaths of allegiance; and an amneſty to all concerned in the late revolt, except thoſe already in cuſtody; and another was publiſhed prohibiting negroes from monopolizing proviſions coming to market, or buying or ſelling without a written leave from their maſters. Shortly after, other orders were given out, by which all the Engliſh ſubjects, proteſtants, and Jews of every nation, were enjoined to depart from the province of Louiſiana, and all commerce prohibited, except with Old Spain and her iſlands, and neither of theſe having demand for the produce of Louiſiana and their returns, if any trade ſhould take place, could not be employed in the commerce of the Miſſiſippi.

General O'Reily made great profeſſions of friendſhip to the governor of Weſt Florida, and aſſured him, upon every occaſion, of his wiſhes to live in harmony with his Engliſh neighbours. His words and actions widely differed; he endeavoured to tamper with the Indians ſettled on our territories, and behaved with great inhoſpitality towards all Engliſh ſubjects who had occaſion to go up the river Miſſiſippi, and infringed the articles of peace, by ſending a party of ſoldiers to cut the hawſers of an Engliſh veſſel, called the

the *Sea Flower*, that had made faſt to the bank of the river above the town; the order was obeyed, and the veſſel narrowly eſcaped being loſt. It is impoſſible for veſſels to navigate upon the Miſſiſippi, unleſs they are permitted to make faſt to the ſhore, as has been explained in the foregoing part of this work; and if Engliſh veſſels are prevented, they cannot be ſaid to enjoy the free navigation of the river, conformable to the articles of the laſt peace.

In October, great and ſolemn preparations were made for the trial of the priſoners charged with high treaſon, who continued to undergo a cruel and rigorous impriſonment until the 31ſt of this month. When they were brought before the high court of juſtice, as it was called, (it was more properly a court martial, the general himſelf preſiding, and the other members being moſtly Spaniſh officers) all the priſoners were found guilty of the charge exhibited againſt them; five were ſentenced to be ſhot, and ſeven to be confined for ten years to the Moro caſtle at the Havanna. Thoſe condemned to death were executed the day following; their names, Monſ. Lafriniere, king's attorney; Monſ. De Marquis, formerly commandant of the Swiſs companies at New Orleans, and knight of the order of St. Louis; Monſ. De Noyant, captain of dragoons, ſon of the late king's lieutenant of Louiſiana; Pierre Careſſe and Petit, merchants. The names of thoſe baniſhed to the Moro, Monſ. De Mazant, formerly captain in the colony troops; Monſ. Garic, regiſter of the council; Meſſrs. Douſſet, Millet, ſen. and jun. and Poupet, merchants.

Monſ. Foucault, the intendant, was ſent priſoner to France. Monſ. Villeroy, one of the perſons firſt arreſted, had embarked with his ſlaves and moſt valuable effects, deſigning to throw himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh; but being afterwards perſuaded of the ſincerity of the Spaniſh general's promiſes, he landed with his ſlaves and effects, and returned to his plantation: he was ſo enraged at the treachery that had been uſed towards

towards him, and at the cruel treatment he received when in confinement, that he died raving mad. The fate of Monſ. Lafrinier's daughter and only child is particularly lamentable; this young lady was married but ſome months before this dreadful event to Monſ. De Noyant, who was handſome in his perſon, and amiable in his diſpoſition.

It is impoſſible to reflect on this tragedy but with horror and deteſtation. When fraud or treachery are made uſe of to deſtroy an enemy, or puniſh the guilty, it diſgraces a nation and the name of juſtice.

It is remarkable, that the king of Spain, in his acceptation of Louiſiana, promiſes the inhabitants their original form of government, and to continue the French counſellors in his council: he alſo offers to receive all the troops employed by the king of France in that country into his ſervice; but the ſoldiers finding that they were to receive no more pay than they had formerly been allowed, which is conſiderably leſs than the pay of Spaniſh troops, refuſed entering into that ſervice to a man.

I have entered into this long digreſſion concerning the government of Louiſiana, with a view of giving ſome idea of its preſent political ſtate. I ſhall now return to an account of the ſettlements.

There are ſome plantations on the Bayouk of St. John, and on the road from thence to New Orleans. The ſettlements of Gentilly are one mile from the Bayouk of St. John, on the ſide of a ſmall creek, which alſo communicates with the lake Ponchartrain. Cannes, Brulé, Chapitoula, and the German ſettlements join each other, and are a continuation of well cultivated plantations of near forty miles from New Orleans, on each ſide of the river. At the German ſettlements, on the weſt ſide of the river, is a church

ſerved

ſerved by the capuchins; and a ſmall ſtockaded fort in the center of the ſettlements on the eaſt ſide of the river; an officer and twelve ſoldiers are kept there for the police of that quarter. This poſt was originally erected as an aſylum for the inhabitants who firſt ſettled there, and were much moleſted by the Chactaws and Chickaſhaws, who in alliance carried on a war againſt the ſettlers on the Miſſiſippi. Their entry into this part of the colony was very eaſy, as they went up a ſmall creek, called Tigahoe, in canoes. The entrance of this creek, which is in the lake Ponchartrain, is defended by a ſmall redoubt and a ſerjeant's guard.

Having now gone through the richeſt and moſt cultivated plantations on the Miſſiſippi, it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of their produce, which form the greateſt part of the commerce of Louiſiana. The different articles are indigo, cotton, rice, maiz, beans, myrtle wax-candles, and lumber. The indigo of this country is much eſteemed for its beautiful colour and good quality; the colour is brighter than that which is fabricated at St. Domingo. The cotton, though of a moſt perfect white, is of a very ſhort ſtaple, and is therefore not in great requeſt. The maiz, different ſorts of beans, rice, and myrtle candles, are articles in conſtant demand at St. Domingo.

Some of the richeſt planters, ſince the year 1762, have begun the cultivation of ſugar, and have erected mills for ſqueezing the canes; the ſugar produced in this country is of a very fine quality, and ſome of the crops have been very large; but no dependance can be had on this, as ſome years the winters are too cold, and kill the canes in the ground.

In the autumn the planters employ their ſlaves in cutting down and ſquaring timber, for ſawing into boards and ſcantling; the carriage of this timber is very eaſy, for thoſe who cut it at the back

of

of their plantations make a ditch, which is ſupplied with water from the back ſwamps, and by that means conduct their timber to the river ſide without labour; others ſend their ſlaves up to the cypreſs ſwamps, of which there are a great many betwixt New Orleans and Pointe Coupée; there they make rafts of the timber they cut, and float them down to New Orleans.

Many of the planters have ſaw-mills, which are worked by the waters of the Miſſiſippi in the time of the floods, and then they are kept going night and day till the waters fall. The quantity of lumber ſent from the Miſſiſippi to the Weſt India iſlands is prodigious, and it generally goes to a good market.

About ten leagues from the fort at the German ſettlements are the villages of the Houmas and Alibamons. The former were once a conſiderable nation of Indians, they are reduced now to about forty warriors: the latter are about twenty families, being part of a nation which lived near fort Toulouſe, on the river Alibamons, and followed the French when they quitted that poſt in the year 1762. One league further up is the Fourche de Chetimachas, near which is the village of a tribe of Indians of that name; they reckon about ſixty warriors. Three leagues above this is the Conceſſion of Monſ. Paris, a pleaſant ſituation and good land; large herds of cattle are now kept there, belonging to the inhabitants of Pointe Coupée. The new ſettlements of the Accadians are on both ſides of the river, and reach from the Germans to within ſeven or eight miles of the river Ibbeville. Theſe are the remainder of the families which were ſent by general Lawrence from Nova Scotia to our ſouthern provinces; where, by their induſtry, they did and might have continued to live very happy, but that they could not publickly enjoy the Roman Catholic religion, to which they are greatly bigotted. They took the earlieſt opportunity, after the peace, of tranſporting themſelves to St. Domingo

mingo, where the climate diſagreed with them ſo much, that they in a few months loſt near half their numbers; the remainder, few only excepted, were, in the latter end of the year 1763, removed to New Orleans, at the expence of the king of France. There are about three hundred families of this unfortunate people ſettled in different parts of Louiſiana.

RIVER IBBEVILLE.

WE now come to the river Ibbeville, the ſouth boundary of Weſt Florida, and of the Engliſh poſſeſſions on the river Miſſiſippi. The junction of the Ibbeville with the Miſſiſippi is thirty-two leagues from New Orleans, ſixty leagues from the Balize, and ninety leagues from Penſacola, by the way of the lakes. The poſt at the mouth of the river Ibbeville, on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, has ever ſtruck me, from its ſituation, as of the greateſt conſequence to the commerce of Weſt Florida; for it may with reaſon be ſuppoſed, that the inhabitants and traders who reſide at Pointe Coupée, at Natchitoches, Attacappa, Arcanſas, the Illinois, and the poſt of St. Vincent's on the Ouabache, would rather trade at this place than at New Orleans, if they could have as good returns for their peltry and the produce of their country; for it makes a difference of ten days in their voyage, which is no inconſiderable ſaving of labour, money, and time. The goods theſe people take in return for their peltry, furs, tobacco, tallow, and bear's oil, are, ſpirituous liquors, grocery, dry goods of all kinds, and all the articles neceſſary for their commerce with the ſavages. The only difficulty that oppoſes itſelf to this neceſſary ſettlement is the want of a navigation through the river Ibbeville; ſo that veſſels might carry on a conſtant intercourſe betwixt this place and Penſacola, without going up the Miſſiſippi, which is a tedious navigation. The better to ſhew the facility of accompliſhing this, I ſhall here inſert a deſcription of the paſſage from lake Ponchartrain to the Miſſiſippi, and directions neceſſary to be obſerved in that navigation. The coaſt of Weſt Florida, from Penſacola to lake Ponchartrain, is ſo well known that it is not neceſſary to ſay any thing on that head. The deſcription of the river Ibbeville, &c. was a report tranſmitted with plans and draughts, in the year 1765, to his excellency general Gage.

DESCRIPTION

OF

MASSIAC,

PART OF THE RIVER AMIT,
And the RIVER IBBEVILLE.

BEFORE I begin the deſcription and directions, it is neceſſary I ſhould mention ſome errors which have ſubſiſted in all geographical accounts hitherto given of that part of the country, which I have examined; theſe I will endeavour to explain. The names Maſſiac, Manchaque, Aſcantia, Amit, and Ibbeville, have been ſo confounded, that it is with difficulty a ſtranger can know what part of the country to apply one or other of them to; and theſe errors ſtill ſubſiſt with the French, ſo that when this paſſage is talked of even amongſt themſelves they confound one another, and he who would ſpeak of that part next the Miſſiſippi, is thought by another to have ſaid ſomething of the communication betwixt the lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas. In order to avoid the ſame miſtakes, it is proper theſe names ſhould be diſtinctly ſeparated; the way I think they ſhould be underſtood is this: The paſſage from lake Ponchartrain to lake Maurepas ſhould be called the Maſſiac, and the two channels be diſtinguiſhed, by one being called the S. W. and the other the N. W. The Amit ſhould carry its name as far as its current runs, which is from its ſource, near Natches, to where it empties itſelf into lake Maurepas, which is ſeventy leagues. The Ibbeville I cannot underſtand to be any thing more

than a ſmall creek, which is ſupplied with water by the Miſſiſippi and Amit. From March to September the former generally affords water enough to make a navigation through; the reſt of the year its whole ſupply is from the latter, and that only for ſix leagues and a half up. By this rule I ſhall go on with the deſcription and directions, which are as follow. Off the paſs at Maſſiac, next to the lake of Ponchartrain, is found three fathoms of water; and there are not leſs ſteering W. for the center of the paſs, which when entered there is four or five fathoms, keeping mid-channel: this depth of water will be carried all the way to lake Maurepas. Two miles and a half up this channel is the point of an iſland, which is formed by two channels; the entrance of the great channel, called by the French Grand Maſſiac, lies N. W. and the little one, which they call Le Petit Maſſiac, N. W. by N. The great channel is the beſt, although the depth of water is the ſame in both; but as the ſhoals do not run ſo far off the points, and as the turnings are not ſo great, nor ſo many, the diſtance is conſequently leſs; for theſe reaſons I ſhould recommend the great channel for our conſtant navigation. However advantageous it may appear at firſt ſight to have a poſt on the eaſt end of the iſland, it would anſwer no purpoſe, as the ſavages go frequently into lake Maurepas from lake Ponchartrain, by the river Tanchipao; which for canoes and ſmall boats is equally as good a navigation, becauſe about three leagues up a branch of the Nitabani empties itſelf into that river, and which is the communication from Tanchipao to lake Maurepas. The opening of the lake Maurepas is about ſeven miles from the eaſt point of the iſland; here it is neceſſary to keep near the iſland, as a ſhoal bank runs off a point that lies ſouth about one mile and a half from the paſs. Steering by this direction, there will not be found leſs than ſeven feet water on the bar, and never leſs than eight feet going through the lake. The mouth of the river Amit bears weſt ſoutherly; by keeping near the north ſhore we do not leſſen the water, but come at once into four fathoms; but go as we pleaſe, we cannot find leſs than five feet.

The mouth of this river is remarkable from being embayed, and from a number of trees which ſtand off the land in the lake and are almoſt covered with water. The land is overflowed when the waters are high, about one foot and a half, as appears by the marks on the trees, and continues ſo near a league up the river, where there is a ſpot of land which appears to be never covered: all ſuch ſpots I have ſhewn in the annexed draught. But this is an obſervation which may be made of the country throughout; that the lands grow lower as we advance in the woods, and at three and four hundred yards back from the river we never fail meeting with bogs and ſwamps. As the land is not much overflowed at the mouth, it would be no difficult matter to make a bank for the ſecurity of a ſmall poſt there; and if it ſhould be ever thought neceſſary, materials are ready; there being ſhells, with which lime may be made, and very fine timber, ſuch as cypreſs and elm. As I have been very careful in making the draught, and marking every little river that empties itſelf into this, I ſhall ſay nothing of them, only that unleſs this draught is followed, or a pilot taken, miſtakes may be made by going up one of them, inſtead of the river to be purſued. The nearer we approach the junction of the Amit with the Ibbeville the current becomes ſtronger. When I went up, in the month of March, I found within about three leagues of that place a current running at the rate of three miles an hour, though at the entrance at lake Maurepas it was ſcarcely perceptible. From the mouth of the Amit to the junction of the Ibbeville ſeveral trees are fallen down, which ſhould be removed, otherwiſe the navigation is continually liable to interruptions by the logs floating down, and being intercepted by them, which in a very little time would form a barricado quite acroſs, ſuch as there was when I went up, and which was cleared by ten negroes ſent down for that purpoſe, and my detachment. The depth of water from lake Maurepas to the Ibbeville is from four to nine fathoms, and the diſtance fourteen leagues: here it is neceſſary to ſtrike the maſts when the waters are high, as the branches of the trees hang very low, and intervene

intervene ſo that in ſome parts they form an arbour over the river. Four leagues further up the lands are lower than in any other part of the country, the marks of the water on the trees being ten feet above the land. At irregular diſtances, as from one to three hundred yards on each ſide of the river, there are high lands overgrown with canes, and this place is called Tagoulaſay; here are a number of ſmall rivulets which run into the river; one league higher is Anatamaha, which, in the Indian language, ſignifies the fiſh-place: it is properly called, for they abound here all the year, which accounts for the vaſt number of crocodiles that are continually on the banks of this river. Sloops and ſchooners may come as far as this place when the waters are at the loweſt, here never being leſs than twelve feet water; and at this time there is an eddy from the river Amit which ſets to the weſtward. From hence to the Miſſiſippi I think the trees ſhould be cut down forty feet back from the river ſide, that a road might be made for carriages when the waters are low, at which time the bed of the river is dry from the Miſſiſippi; when the waters are high it will ſtill be neceſſary for the navigation, as veſſels may be tracked up by horſes or men to the Miſſiſippi, in the ſame manner as lighters in England. The river is too deep for ſetting conveniently with poles, and too narrow for rowing; and the vaſt ſtrength of the current, at the time of the floods, without there ſhould be room for the oars, would drive the batteaux into the woods, and it would be a difficult matter to find the way back to the river. My batteau went about one mile above Anatamaha, but I could not get her any higher, although there was not leſs than four and five feet water all the way to the Miſſiſippi, which is more than three leagues diſtance (including the turnings of the river), and when the waters are up there will be from eleven to eighteen feet water. At two leagues to the weſtward of Anatamaha the land is never covered above one foot, which, when ſecured from the inundations of the river by a bank being thrown up, will be as good as any in Louiſiana, and will yield every produce natural to the climate.

More

More than ſix miles of the paſſage of the river Ibbeville is choaked up by wood, which has been drawn in by the eddy from the Miſſiſippi at the annual floods. The river, for ſix miles below its entrance, is not in general above fifty feet wide; many large trees had fallen acroſs the river, which ſtopped the logs that were floating down, and ſo formed a barricado. In the beginning of the year 1764, captain-lieutenant Campbell, late of the thirty-fourth regiment, undertook to clear the river, and make it navigable; and by order of major Farmer (who at that time commanded in Weſt Florida) hired upwards of fifty negroes for that purpoſe. In the month of October, when the bed of the river was dry, they cut the trees which had fallen acroſs into ſhort logs, and cleared a path-way on the ſide of the river about eight miles down, throwing the canes and all the rubbiſh into it; expecting that when the Miſſiſippi ſhould riſe it would carry all before it. In December captain Campbell reported that he had made the river perfectly navigable. The negroes had unfortunately begun to cut the logs next the Miſſiſippi, and had not cleared the embarraſſments that were on the lower parts of the river, which, when the floods came on, intercepted ſuch logs as floated down, and made the river in a worſe condition than ever. A poſt was eſtabliſhed in the ſpring following, and a detachment of thirty ſoldiers of the thirty-fourth regiment, with officers, and an engineer; they built ſome huts to lodge themſelves, proviſions, ſtores, and Indian preſents; and they continued to work at the river, but to as little purpoſe as the negroes had done before. In July, the thirty-fourth regiment being on their way to the Illinois, major Farmer took off the detachment, leaving the engineer, an artillery officer, and three or four artificers, (moſt of whom were in a ſickly ſtate) and the ſtores, to the mercy of the neighbouring Indians; who, within a few days after the departure of the regiment, pillaged the poſt, and the poor defenceleſs people were happy to eſcape with their lives to New Orleans, leaving the artillery and ſuch things as the Indians could

could not deſtroy behind them. In the month of December, 1766, governor Johnſtone ſent a detachment of the Scots fuſileers, who were lately arrived in Weſt Florida, to repoſſeſs that poſt; they built a ſmall ſtockaded fort, which continued to be garriſoned by the troops from Penſacola in the year 1768, when I left that place. I have ſince heard that the garriſons at this poſt and Natches are withdrawn.

POINTE

POINTE COUPEE.

THE ſettlements at Pointe Coupée commence about ten leagues from the river Ibbeville; they extend twenty miles on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi; and there are ſome plantations back on the ſide of (what is generally called) *la fauſſe riviere*, thro' which the Miſſiſippi paſſed about ſixty years ago; making the ſhape of a creſcent, and made a difference to the voyager of near eight leagues. It is ſaid that about that time two Canadians were deſcending the river, but were ſtopped at the beginning of this creſcent by the roughneſs of the waves, occaſioned by the wind blowing very hard againſt the current. One of theſe travellers choſe to amuſe himſelf with his gun until the wind ſhould abate: and that he might not loſe his way in the woods, he determined to follow a little brook, which had been made by the inundations of the river; he had gone but a ſmall diſtance, when he again found himſelf by the ſide of the river, and ſaw the white cliffs before him; which he knew by the courſe of the Miſſiſippi to be eight leagues from the place where he left his companion; to whom he immediately returned, and acquainted him with this diſcovery. They agreed to endeavour to get their canoe acroſs, as there was about a foot water in the brook, which had a little ſlope towards the lower part of the river; they got their canoe into the brook, and cut away the roots of trees and buſhes that obſtructed its paſſage, and the waters of the Miſſiſippi entering ſeconded their endeavours, ſo that in a ſhort time they effected their purpoſe. It is reported that in leſs than ſix years after the Miſſiſippi paſſed entirely through this channel, leaving its former bed quite dry, and which is now difficult to trace, being moſtly filled up, and overgrown with trees.

The fort, which is a quadrangle with four baſtions, is built with with ſtockades, and contains a very handſome houſe for the commanding officer, good barracks for the ſoldiers, ſtore-houſes, and a priſon. The commanding officer is choſen from one of the eldeſt captains of the colony; the authority of the governor is delegated to him, and the ſtorekeeper is the repreſentative of the intendant. There are ſeldom more than twelve ſoldiers at this place, who are for no other purpoſe than to preſerve good order. The fort is ſituated on the ſide of the Miſſiſippi, about ſix miles above the loweſt plantation. The church is very near the fort, and is ſerved by a capuchin; there are three companies of militia in this canton, choſen from the white inhabitants, who amount to about two thouſand of all ages and ſexes, and about ſeven thouſand ſlaves. They cultivate tobacco and indigo, raiſe vaſt quantities of poultry, which they ſend to the market of New Orleans, and furniſh to the ſhipping; they ſquare a great deal of timber and make ſtaves, which they ſend down in rafts to New Orleans. The inhabitants cultivated maize and other proviſions on the eaſt ſide of the river; but after the peace, when that ſide of the Miſſiſippi was ceded to the Engliſh, ſuch as had houſes there, who were but few, removed to the weſt ſide, which remained to the French.

TONICAS.

ON the eaſt ſide of the river, and about two miles above the laſt plantation of Pointe Coupée, is the village of the Tonicas, formerly a numerous nation of Indians; but their conſtant intercourſe with the French, and immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, has reduced them to about thirty warriors. They attacked the 22d regiment, commanded by major Loftus, when on their way to take poſſeſſion of the Illinois, on the 20th of March, 1764, at the Roche de Davion; they killed five men and wounded four, that were in two canoes which went a-head of the convoy: although they fired on the other boats they did no other damage, but prevented the regiment proceeding on its enterprize. The ſoldiers did not land, as their enemies were concealed in the wood, and their numbers unknown; they occupied both ſides of the river, and the current in the middle of the ſtream run at the rate of five miles an hour: we have been very credibly informed that ſome of the French of Pointe Coupée, and their ſlaves, aſſiſted the Tonicas in this attack.

PELOUSAS.

THE ſmall river of Pelouſas is ten leagues above the ſettlements of Pointe Coupée, and one league below the mouth of the river Rouge; it receives its name from the natives, and its waters from a lake which lies about forty leagues S. W. of the place where it empties itſelf into the Miſſiſippi. Twenty-five leagues up this river is a ſettlement, known by the name of Pelouſas and Attacappa; it is formed by about ſixty families of Accadians, diſcharged ſoldiers, and inhabitants from fort Toulouſe, on the river Alibamons, who have a few ſlaves. They raiſe tobacco, maize, and wheat; the latter only for their own conſumption. They have large herds of cattle, and follow the Indian commerce. They have a ſmall church, and a capuchin miſſionary reſides with them. This ſettlement was made under the direction of Monſ. D'Abbadie, in the year 1763, and was governed by a French officer, named Pelrin, till the year 1767, when the inhabitants, who had been oppreſſed by the tyranny, which has been always exerted by officers of that nation commanding out-poſts, complained to Don Antonio D'Ulloa, and Monſ. Aubry accuſing him alſo of ſacrilege, he having forcibly taken poſſeſſion of the plate deſtined to the uſe of the altar, and uſed it at his own table, under pretence of keeping it in ſecurity. This worked his ruin more effectually than his ill treatment of the inhabitants, and he was threatened with excommunication; however he was puniſhed by undergoing ſevere penances enjoined by the prieſts, and rendered incapable, by the ſentence of a court-martial of French officers, of any employment military or civil. The government of this ſettlement was afterwards veſted in a magiſtrate to be choſen annually by the inhabitants from amongſt themſelves. One company of militia was alſo raiſed for the defence of the eſtabliſhment, and the officers receive pay from the Spaniſh government.

NATCHES.

THIRTY-four leagues from the river Rouge is the Natches, which, from its ſituation and ſoil, is the fineſt and moſt fertile part of Weſt Florida. The fort is about ſix hundred and ſeventy yards from the river's ſide. The road to it is very bad, on account of a ſteep high ground which is at a ſmall diſtance from the landing-place, very difficult to aſcend, and almoſt impracticable for carriages; a ſmall diſtance from this high land is a hill, on the ſummit of which ſtands the fort, and the road becomes much better, aſcending with a gradual ſlope. The trouble of going up is recompenſed by the ſight of a moſt delightful country of great extent, the proſpect of which is beautifully varied by a number of little hills and fine meadows, ſeparated by ſmall copſes, the trees of which are moſtly walnut and oak. The country is well watered, hops grow wild, and all kinds of European fruits come to great perfection. The fences of many of the gardens made by the French ſtill remain, and ſeveral fruit-trees, moſtly figs, peaches, and wild cherries. The French always eſteemed the tobacco produced here, as preferable to any cultivated in other parts of America. This country was once famous for its inhabitants, who from their great numbers, and the ſtate of ſociety they lived in, were conſidered as the moſt civilized Indians on the continent of America. They lived ſome years in great friendſhip with the French, whom they permitted to ſettle on their lands, and to whom they rendered every ſervice in their power. Their hoſpitality was repaid with ingratitude. The French debauched, and ſometimes raviſhed the women, and tyrannized over the men; every day brought them ſome new diſgrace. They determined to get rid of their oppreſſors, and on the eve of St. Andrew, 1729, they ſurpriſed the fort, and put the whole garriſon to death; at the ſame time they made

a maſ-

a maſſacre of the inhabitants, in which upwards of five hundred were killed, ſome of the women and children they made priſoners; very few of either ſex eſcaped. The whole colony armed to revenge their ſlaughtered countrymen, and they had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Natches, in which the ſucceſs was various. In 1730 Monſ. De Perrier de Salvert, brother to the governor, arrived from France, with the rank of lieutenant-general in Louiſiana, and five hundred regular troops, who joined the troops and militia of the colony. This army, amounting to fifteen hundred men, went, under the command of the two brothers, to attack the nation of Natches; who, with their chiefs, determined to defend themſelves in a fort they had built near a lake which communicates with the Bayouk Dargent, lying weſt of the Natches, and north of the river Rouge. They inveſted this fort, and the Indians made a very reſolute and vigorous ſally on them, but were repulſed, after a conſiderable loſs on both ſides. The French, having brought two or three mortars, threw ſome ſhells into the fort; which making a havock amongſt their women and children, ſo terrified the Indians, unuſed to this ſort of war, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and were conducted to New Orleans, except a few who had eſcaped to the Chickaſhaws, with their hunters, who were providing proviſions for their garriſon. Some of the unfortunate priſoners were burnt at New Orleans, and the reſt were ſent as ſlaves to the Weſt India iſlands; ſome of whom, ſhewing their reſentment by upbraiding the authors of their miſery, were thrown into the ſea. Nothing now remains of this nation but their name, by which their country continues to be called.

When I made the ſurvey of fort Roſalia, which was in the month of Auguſt, I obſerved that the Miſſiſippi had fallen thirty-ſix feet. The breadth of the river at this place is exactly eighteen hundred and ſeventy feet, and the fort ſtands one hundred and eighty feet above the ſurface of the water. It is an irregular pentagon, without baſtions, and is built of plank of five inches thick; the buildings within the fort are a ſtore-houſe, a houſe for the officers, a barrack

for the ſoldiers, and a guard-houſe. Theſe buildings are made of framed timber, filled up with mud and barbe Eſpagnole, (a kind of moſs, which grows in great abundance on all the trees in Louiſiana) and in this country that manner of building houſes is very common. The barbe Eſpagnole (which much reſembles a black curly beard) is alſo made uſe of for ſtuffing mattreſſes.

The ditch is partly made and partly natural; the bottom is in moſt places nineteen feet from the top of the rampart, and in many twelve and thirteen from the top of the counterſcarp; on the north ſide of the fort there is no ditch at all, but it is fenced with pickets, to prevent an enemy getting under the cover of the counterſcarp or into the ditch. The rampart is nearly the ſame height above the pickets as it is in other parts above the bottom of the ditch. The fort received the name of Roſalia in honour to Mad. la ducheſſe de Ponchartrain, whoſe huſband was miniſter of France when it was built.

POST OF ARCANSAS.

THE fort is ſituated three leagues up the river Arcanſas, and is built with ſtockades, in a quadrangular form; the ſides of the exterior polygon are about one hundred and eighty feet, and one three pounder is mounted in the flanks and faces of each baſtion. The buildings within the fort are, a barrack with three rooms for the ſoldiers, commanding officer's houſe, a powder magazine, and a magazine for proviſion, and an apartment for the commiſſary, all which are in a ruinous condition. The fort ſtands about two hundred yards from the water-ſide, and is garriſoned by a captain, a lieutenant, and thirty French ſoldiers, including ſerjeants and corporals. There are eight houſes without the fort, occupied by as many families, who have cleared the land about nine hundred yards in depth; but on account of the ſandineſs of the ſoil, and the lowneſs of the ſituation, which makes it ſubject to be overflowed, they do not raiſe their neceſſary proviſions. Theſe people ſubſiſt moſtly by hunting, and every ſeaſon ſend to New Orleans great quantities of bear's oil, tallow, ſalted buffaloe meat, and a few ſkins. The Arcanſas or Quapas Indians live three leagues above the fort, on the ſide of the river; they are divided into three villages, over each of which preſides a chief, and a great chief over all; they amount in all to about ſix hundred warriors; they are reckoned amongſt the braveſt of the ſouthern Indians; they hunt little more than for their common ſubſiſtence, and are generally at war with the nations to the weſtward of them, as far as the river Bravo, and they bring in very frequently young priſoners and horſes from the Cadodaquias, Paneiſe, Podoquias, &c. of which they diſpoſe to the beſt advantage.

The river Arcanſas is generally eſteemed to be in the moſt moderate climate of any part of Louiſiana, and the lands ſix leagues up

up the river are reckoned as fertile. It was here that the famous Mr. Laws had his Conceſſion, which was a tract of four leagues ſquare; when he failed, the Germans, whom he ſettled in this country, left it, being too remote. They, on their petition, had lands granted them ten leagues above New Orleans, and which their poſterity at preſent poſſeſs.

There are no more ſettlements or poſts near the banks of the Miſſiſippi, until we come to Caſcaſquias, which is three hundred and ſeventy leagues from the ſea, but generally called four hundred; it lies in the latitude 37° 43′ north, and is the firſt village in the country of the Illinois.

CASCASQUIAS.

THE village of Notre Dame de Caſcaſquias is by far the moſt conſiderable ſettlement in the country of the Illinois, as well from its number of inhabitants, as from its advantageous ſituation; it ſtands on the ſide of a ſmall river, which is about eighty yards acroſs; its ſource lies north-eaſt, about ſixty leagues from the village, and fifteen leagues eaſt of the remarkable rock of Peorya *, and it empties itſelf with a gentle current into the Miſſiſippi, near two leagues below the village. This river is a ſecure port for large batteaux, which can lie ſo cloſe to its bank as to load and unload without the leaſt trouble; and at all ſeaſons of the year there is water enough for them to come up. It muſt be obſerved here, that it is extremely dangerous for batteaux or boats to remain in the Miſſiſippi, on account of the bank falling in, and the vaſt number of logs and trees which are ſent down, with a violent force, by the rapidity of the current, as alſo on account of the heavy gales of wind to which this climate is ſubject. Another great advantage that Caſcaſquias receives from its river is the facility with which mills for corn and planks may be erected on it: Monſ. Paget was the firſt who introduced water-mills in this country, and he conſtructed a very fine one on the river Caſcaſquias, which was both for grinding corn and ſawing boards; it lies about one mile from the village. The mill proved fatal to him, being killed as he was working in it, with two negroes, by a party of the Cherokees, in the year 1764. The principal buildings are, the church and jeſuits houſe, which has a ſmall chapel adjoining to it; theſe, as well as ſome other houſes in the village, are built

* There is in a ſort of nich in this rock a figure that bears ſome reſemblance to a man; the Indians who paſs by pay their adorations to it, imagining it ſomething ſupernatural, and that it has an influence over their fortunes.

of ſtone, and, conſidering this part of the world, make a very good appearance. The jeſuits plantation conſiſted of two hundred and forty *arpens* of cultivated land, a very good ſtock of cattle, and a brewery; which was ſold by the French commandant, after the country was ceded to the Engliſh, for the crown, in conſequence of the ſuppreſſion of the order. Monſ. Beauvais was the purchaſer, who is the richeſt of the Engliſh ſubjects in this country; he keeps eighty ſlaves; he furniſhed eighty-ſix thouſand weight of flour to the king's magazine, which was only a part of the harveſt he reaped in one year. Sixty-five families reſide in this village, beſides merchants, other caſual people, and ſlaves. The fort, which was burnt down in October 1766, ſtood on the ſummit of a high rock oppoſite the village, and on the other ſide of the river; it was an oblongular quadrangle, of which the exterior polygon meaſured two hundred and ninety by two hundred and fifty-one feet; it was built of very thick ſquared timber, and dove-tailed at the angles. An officer and twenty ſoldiers are quartered in the village. The officer governs the inhabitants, under the direction of the commandant at fort Chartres. Here are alſo two companies of militia.

LA PRAIRE DE ROCHÉS.

LA PRAIRIE DE ROCHÉS is about ſeventeen miles from Caſcaſquias; it is a ſmall village, conſiſting of twelve dwelling-houſes, all which are inhabited by as many families; here is a little chapel, formerly a chapel of eaſe to the church at Fort de Chartres. The inhabitants here are very induſtrious, and raiſe a great deal of corn and every kind of ſtock. This village is two miles from Fort Chartres; it takes its name from its ſituation, being built under a rock that runs parallel with the river Miſſiſippi at a league diſtance, for forty leagues up. Here is a company of militia, the captain of which regulates the police of the village.

FORT

FORT CHARTRES.

FORT CHARTRES when it belonged to France was the ſeat of government of the Illinois; the head quarters of the Engliſh commanding officer is now here, who is, in fact, the arbitrary governor of this country. The fort is an irregular quadrangle, the ſides of the exterior polygon are four hundred and ninety feet; it is built of ſtone and plaiſtered over, and is only deſigned as a defence againſt the Indians, the walls being two feet two inches thick, and pierced with loop-holes at regular diſtances, and with two port-holes for cannon in the faces, and two in the flanks of each baſtion; the ditch has never been finiſhed; the entrance to the fort is through a very handſome ruſtic gate: within the wall is a ſmall banquette, raiſed three feet, for the men to ſtand on when they fire through the loop-holes. The buildings within the fort are, the commandant's and commiſſary's houſes, the magazine of ſtores, corps de garde, and two barracks; theſe occupy the ſquare. Within the gorges of the baſtions are, a powder magazine, a bakehouſe, a priſon, in the lower floor of which are four dungeons, and in the upper two rooms, and an out-houſe belonging to the commandant. The commandant's houſe is thirty-two yards long, and ten broad; it contains a kitchen, a dining-room, a bed-chamber, one ſmall room, five cloſets for ſervants, and a cellar. The commiſſary's houſe (now occupied by officers) is built in the ſame line as this, its proportions and diſtribution of apartments are the ſame. Oppoſite theſe are the ſtore-houſe and guard-houſe, they are each thirty yards long and eight broad; the former conſiſts of two large ſtore-rooms (under which is a large vaulted cellar) and a large room, a bed-chamber, and a cloſet for the ſtore-keeper; the latter, of a ſoldier's and officer's guard-rooms, a chapel, a bed-chamber and cloſet for the chaplain, and an artillery ſtore-room. The lines of

barracks have never been finiſhed; they at preſent conſiſt of two rooms each, for officers, and three rooms for ſoldiers; they are good ſpacious rooms of twenty-two feet ſquare, and have betwixt them a ſmall paſſage. There are fine ſpacious lofts over each building which reach from end to end; theſe are made uſe of to lodge regimental ſtores, working and intrenching tools, &c. It is generally allowed that this is the moſt commodious and beſt built fort in North America. The bank of the Miſſiſippi, next the fort, is continually falling in, being worn away by the current, which has been turned from its courſe by a ſand-bank, now encreaſed to a conſiderable iſland covered with willows: many experiments have been tried to ſtop this growing evil, but to no purpoſe. When the fort was began in the year 1756, it was a good half mile from the water-ſide; in the year 1766 it was but eighty paces; eight years ago the river was fordable to the iſland, the channel is now ſorty feet deep. In the year 1764 there were about forty families in the village near the fort, and a pariſh church, ſerved by a Franciſcan friar, dedicated to St. Anne. In the following year, when the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the country, they abandoned their houſes, except three or four poor families, and ſettled at the villages on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi, chuſing to continue under the French government.

SAINT

SAINT PHILIPPE.

SAINT PHILIPPE is a ſmall village about five miles from Fort Chartres, in the road to Kaoquias; there are about ſixteen houſes and a ſmall church ſtanding; all the inhabitants, except the captain of militia, deſerted it in 1765, and went to the French ſide: the captain of militia has about twenty ſlaves, a good ſtock of cattle, and a water-mill for corn and planks. This village ſtands in a very fine meadow, about one mile from the Miſſiſippi.

KAOQUIAS.

THE village of Sainte Famille de Kaoquias is generally reckoned fifteen leagues from Fort Chartres, and ſix leagues below the mouth of the river Miſſoury; it ſtands near the ſide of the Miſſiſippi, and is maſked from the river by an iſland of two leagues long; the village is oppoſite the center of this iſland; it is long and ſtraggling, being three quarters of a mile from one end to the other; it contains forty-five dwelling-houſes, and a church near its center. The ſituation is not well choſen, as in the floods it is generally overflowed two or three feet. This was the firſt ſettlement on the river Miſſiſippi. The land was purchaſed of the ſavages by a few Canadians, ſome of whom married women of the Kaoquias nation, and others brought wives from Canada, and then reſided there, leaving their children to ſucceed them. The inhabitants of this place depend more on hunting, and their Indian trade, than on agriculture, as they ſcarcely raiſe corn enough for their own conſumption: they have a great deal of poultry and good ſtocks of horned cattle. The miſſion of St. Sulpice had a very fine plantation here, and an excellent houſe built on it; they ſold this eſtate, and a very good mill for corn and planks, to a Frenchman who choſe to remain under the Engliſh government. They alſo diſpoſed of thirty negroes and a good ſtock of cattle to different people in the country, and returned to France in the year 1764. What is called the fort is a ſmall houſe ſtanding in the center of the village; it differs in nothing from the other houſes except in being one of the pooreſt; it was formerly encloſed with high palliſades, but theſe were torn down and burnt. Indeed a fort at this place could be of but little uſe.

SAINT

SAINT LOUIS, OR PAINCOURT.

THIS village is one league and a half above Kaoquias, on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi, being the preſent head quarters of the French in theſe parts. It was firſt eſtabliſhed in the year 1764, by a company of merchants, to whom Monſ. D'Abbadie had given an excluſive grant for the commerce with the Indian nations on the river Miſſoury; and for the ſecurity and encouragement of this ſettlement, the ſtaff of French officers and the commiſſary were ordered to remove there, upon the rendering Fort Chartres to the Engliſh; and great encouragement was given to the inhabitants to remove with them, moſt of whom did. The company has built a large houſe, and ſtores here, and there are about forty private houſes, and as many families. No fort or barracks are yet built. The French garriſon conſiſts of a captain-commandant, two lieutenants, a ſort-major, one ſerjeant, one corporal, and twenty men.

SAINTE GENEVIEUVE, OR MISERE.

THE firſt ſettlers of this village removed about twenty-eight years ago from Caſcaſquias: the goodneſs of the ſoil and the plentiful harveſts they reaped made them perfectly ſatisfied with the place they had choſen. The ſituation of the village is very convenient, being within one league of the ſalt ſpring, which is for the general uſe of the French ſubjects, and ſeveral perſons belonging to this village have works here, and make great quantities of ſalt for the ſupply of the Indians, hunters, and the other ſettlements. A lead mine, which ſupplies the whole country with ſhot, is about fifteen leagues diſtance. The communication of this village with Caſcaſquias is very ſhort and eaſy, it being only to croſs the Miſſiſippi, which is about three quarters of a mile broad at this place, and then there is a portage, two miles diſtance, to Caſcaſquias. This cuts off eighteen miles by water, ſix down the river Caſcaſquias and twelve up the Miſſiſippi. The village of St. Louis is ſupplied with flour and other proviſions from hence. An officer appointed by the French commandant has the entire regulation of the police. Here is a company of militia, commanded by a Monſ. Valet, who reſides at this place, and is the richeſt inhabitant of the country of the Illinois; he raiſes great quantities of corn and proviſions of every kind; he has one hundred negroes, beſides hired white people, conſtantly employed. The village is about one mile in length and contains about ſeventy families. Here is a very fine water-mill, for corn and planks, belonging to Monſ. Valet.

OF THE

COUNTRY OF THE ILLINOIS.

THE country of the Illinois is bounded by the Miſſiſippi on the weſt, by the river Illinois on the north, by the rivers Ouabache and Miamis on the eaſt, and the Ohio on the ſouth.

The air in general is pure, and the ſky ſerene, except in the month of March and the latter end of September, when there are heavy rains and hard gales of wind. The months of May, June, July, and Auguſt, are exceſſive hot, and ſubject to ſudden and violent ſtorms; January and February are extremely cold; the other months of the year are moderate. The principal Indian nations in this country are, the Caſcaſquias, Kaoquias, Mitchigamias, and Peoryas; theſe four tribes are generally called the Illinois Indians: except in the hunting ſeaſons, they reſide near the Engliſh ſettlements in this country, where they have built their huts. They are a poor, debauched, and daſtardly people. They count about three hundred and fifty warriors. The Peanquichas, Maſcoutins, Miamis, Kickapous, and Pyatonons, though not very numerous, are a brave and warlike people. The ſoil of this country in general is very rich and luxuriant; it produces all ſorts of European grains, hops, hemp, flax, cotton, and tobacco, and European fruits come to great perfection. The inhabitants make wine of the wild grapes, which is very inebriating, and is, in colour and taſte, very like the red wine of *Provence*. The country abounds with buffalo, deer, and wild-fowl, particularly ducks, geeſe, ſwans, turkies, and pheaſants. The rivers and lakes afford plenty of fiſh.

In the late wars, New Orleans and the lower parts of Louiſiana were ſupplied with flour, beer, wines, hams, and other proviſions from this country: at preſent its commerce is moſtly confined to the peltry and furs, which are got in traffic from the Indians; for which are received in return ſuch European commodities as are neceſſary to carry on that commerce and the ſupport of the inhabitants. 2

OF THE

GOVERNMENT

OF THE

COUNTRY OF ILLINOIS,

WHEN BELONGING TO THE FRENCH.

THIS country, when in poſſeſſion of the French, was governed by a military officer, called the major-commandant, who was appointed by the governor of New Orleans; he was always a man connected with the governor by intereſt or relationſhip; he was abſolute in his authority, except in matters of life and death; capital offences were tried by the council at New Orleans: the whole Indian trade was ſo much in the power of the commandant, that nobody was permitted to be concerned in it, but on condition of giving him part of the profits. Whenever he made preſents to the Indians, in the name of his king, he received peltry and furs in return; as the preſents he gave were to be conſidered as marks of his favour and love for them, ſo the returns they made were to be regarded as proofs of their attachment to him. Speeches accompanied by preſents were called *paroles de valeur*; any Indians who came to a French poſt were ſubſiſted at the expence of the king during their ſtay, and the ſwelling this account was no inconſiderable emolument.

As every buſineſs the commandant had with the Indians was attended with certain profit, it is not ſurpriſing that he ſpared no pains to gain their affections; and he made it equally the intereſt of the officers under him to pleaſe them, by permitting them to trade

trade, and making them his agents in the Indian countries. If any perſon brought goods within the limits of his juriſdiction, without his particular licence, he would oblige them to ſell their merchandiſe, at a very moderate profit, to the commiſſary, on the king's account, calling it an emergency of government, and employ the ſame goods in his own private commerce: it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, from what has been before ſaid, that a complaint to the governor of New Orleans would meet with very little redreſs. It may be aſked, if the inhabitants were not offended at this monopoly of trade and arbitrary proceedings? The commandant could beſtow many favours on them, ſuch as giving contracts for furniſhing proviſions, or performing publick works; by employing them in his trade, or by making their children cadets, who were allowed pay and proviſions, and could when they were grown up recommend them for commiſſions. They were happy if by the moſt ſervile and ſubmiſſive behaviour they could gain his confidence and favour. Every perſon capable of bearing arms was enrolled in the militia, and a captain of militia and officers were appointed to each pariſh; the captain of militia regulated corvées and other perſonal ſervice. From this military form of government the authority of the commandant was almoſt univerſal. The commiſſary was a mere cypher, and rather kept for form than for any real uſe; he was always a perſon of low dependence, and never dared counteract the will of the commandant.

OF THE INHABITANTS.

THE firſt white inhabitants of the Illinois came from Canada; ſome brought wives and families with them, others married Indian women in thoſe countries; there is ſtill a continual intercourſe between them and the Canadians. The men of theſe countries are very ſuperſtitious and ignorant; they are in general active and well made; they are as good hunters, can bear as much fatigue, and are as well acquainted with the woods, as the Indians; moſt of them have ſome knowledge of the dialects of the neighbouring Indians and much affect their manners. The price of labour in general is very high, as moſt of the young men rather chuſe to hunt and trade amongſt the Indians, than apply to agriculture or become handicrafts. At the Illinois a man may be boarded and lodged the year round on condition of his working two months, one month in ploughing the land and ſowing the corn, and one month in the harveſt. The only trades they have amongſt them are carpenters, ſmiths, maſons, taylors, and millwrights. The number of white inhabitants in this country, excluſive of the troops, are about two thouſand, of all ages and ſexes; in this number are included thoſe who live at Fort St. Vincent's, on the Ouabache. Thirty French ſoldiers were withdrawn from thence in the latter end of the year 1764. The inhabitants at this poſt live much at their eaſe, having every thing neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence of their own production. Their commerce is the ſame as that of the other inhabitants of this country.

L'ARRET

DE LA

COUR SUPERIEURE DE LA PROVINCE,

Mentioné à la page 16.

LOUIS, par la grace de Dieu, roi de France & de Navarre, à tous ceux qui ces préſentes verront, ſalut : Savoir faiſons, que vû par le conſeil ſupérieur de la province de Louiſianne, les très-humbles repreſentations faites cejourd'hui à la cour, par tous les habitans, négocians, artizans, & autres peuples, icelles expoſitives, que le ſoulagement d'un peuple dont le conſeil eſt le pere, le maintien des loix dont il eſt le depoſitaire & l'interprette, les progrès de l'agriculture & du commerce dont il eſt le protecteur, ſont les motifs des repreſentations des dits habitans & negocians, &c. Quels objets pour le conſeil ! Pourroit-il, après les avoir enviſagez en regarder d'autres, qu'autant qu'ils concourent à favoriſer ceux-là ? Qu'il ſuſpende pour quelques momens ſes penibles travaux, pour ſe livrer aux ſujets qui ſont repreſentés aujourd'hui, comme les plus dignes de ſon attention & de ſon miniſtere : & toi dont le proſpérité fait l'objet de nos plus ardens deſirs, toi qui es pour nous ce que Sparthe, Athenes, & Rome etoient pour leurs zélés citoyens ; O chere patrie ! Permets nous d'acquitter une dette legitime en te conſacrant ce foible tribut de notre amour ; nos cœurs vont le dicter, une main docile va ſe preter à leurs inſpirations.

Sept millions de papiers royaux formoient tout le numéraire de cette colonie & la fortune des citoyens ; la privation totale de ce capital, dont S. M. ſuſpendit le payement par un arrêt du mois d'Octobre

A R R E T

OF THE

SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE PROVINCE,

Referred to in page 16.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, king of France and of Navarre, to all thoſe who ſhall ſee theſe preſents, greeting, We make it known that the ſuperior council of the province of Louiſiana, having taken into conſideration the humble repreſentations made this day to that court by all the inhabitants, merchants, artiſans, and others ; and theſe laying before it, that the relief of a people, to whom the council is a father ; the ſupport of the laws, of which it is the depoſitory and interpreter ; and the improvement of agriculture and commerce, of which it is the patron, are the motives of the repreſentations of ſaid inhabitants and merchants, &c. What important objects are theſe for the council ! Can it, after having duly conſidered them, give attention to any other, farther than as they contribute to favour theſe ? Let it for a few moments ſuſpend its labours to attach itſelf to thoſe ſubjects, which are now repreſented as moſt worthy of its attention and its miniſtry : and you, whoſe proſperity is the object of our moſt ardent wiſhes ; you who are to us what Sparta, Athens, and Rome were to their zealous citizens, O dear country ! ſuffer us to pay a lawful debt, by conſecrating to you this weak tribute of our love, a tribute dictated by our hearts, which are ſeconded by an obedient hand, ready to perform what they inſpire.

Seven millions of royal paper made all the currency of this colony, and the fortune of its citizens ; the total privation of this capital, the payment of which his majeſty ſuſpended by an edict of

d'Octobre 1759, a mis la province de la Louiſiane dans la plus déplorable ſituation. On n'entreprendra pas de faire un detail des calamités, des renverſemens des fortunes, de la ruine des familles qui ont été les ſuites funeſtes de cette cataſtrophe ; la cour en a ſous les yeux un tableau plus frappant qu'on ne ſçauroit le peindre, toutes les fois qu'elle s'aſſemble pour être les arbitres des malheureuſes victimes de cet evénement. Revenus de l'abattement dans lequel ils avoient été plongés, les citoyens de la Louiſiane commencoient enfin à reſpirer ; ils avoient enviſagé la fin de la guerre comme la fin de leurs malheurs, & vivoient dans l'eſperance que le retour de la paix auroit été le moment deſtiné pour leur ſoulagement. L'agriculture, (diſoit l'habitant) cette richeſſe la plus réelle des nations, cette ſource feconde dont coulent tous les biens dont on jouit, va être animée & reſtituera au centuple pendant la paix, les pertes que l'on a eſſuyé pendant la guerre ; le commerce, ſans lequel les fruits de la terre n'ont ni prix, ni valeur, va être vivifié & protégé (diſoit le negociant) douces illuſions ! Projets flateurs, qu'êtes vous devenus ? Le cultivateur, le commerçant, tous les états de la colonie éprouvent dans la plus profonde paix, des revers & des calamités qu'ils n'avoient point reſſenti pendant une longue & cruelle guerre. Le premier coup dont la colonie a été frappé eſt la nouvelle de la ceſſion que ſa majeſté en a faite à l'Eſpagne ; on ne s'étonnera point ſans doute, de la profonde triſteſſe dont cet evénement a pénétré tous les cœurs ; les François aiment leur prince par deſſus toutes choſes, & un heureux préjugé fait pancher naturellement tous les hommes vers le gouvernement dans lequel ils ſont nés ; jettons une voile ſur cet evénement, la plume tombe des mains d'un François quand il veut l'approfondir. Ce qui occupe ſerieuſement aujourd'hui & qui doit auſſi fixer toute l'attention de la cour, ce ſont les avant-coureurs des chaines dont une nouvelle adminiſtration menace les colons de la Louiſiane. Tantôt c'eſt une compagnie excluſive, qui doit au préjudice de la nation, faire le commerce de toutes les poſſeſſions qui reſtent aux

the month of October, 1759, has reduced the province of Louiſiana to the moſt deplorable ſituation. We ſhall not undertake to enter into a detail of the calamities, of the ruined fortunes, of the downfal of families, which were the fatal conſequences of that cataſtrophe; the court has before its eyes a more ſtriking picture of thoſe than it is poſſible for us to paint, every time it aſſembles to take cognizance of the unhappy victims of this event. Recovered from the dejection into which they had been plunged, the citizens of Louiſiana at laſt began to take heart. They had conſidered the concluſion of the war as the end of their misfortunes, and entertained hopes that the return of peace would be the moment deſtined for their relief. Agriculture, ſaid the inhabitants, that real wealth of a nation, that prolific ſource from whence flow all the bleſſings which we enjoy, will now be revived, and will reſtore a hundred fold during the peace, the loſſes which we underwent during the war; commerce, without which the fruits of the earth have neither worth nor value, will be revived and encouraged, (ſaid the merchant) pleaſing illuſions! flattering projects! what is now become of you! The farmer, the dealer, all ranks and claſſes in the colony, undergo, in the moſt profound peace, misfortunes and calamities which they never felt during a long and bloody war. The firſt ſtroke by which the colony was afflicted, was the information it received of the ceſſion made of it by his majeſty to Spain: nobody, doubtleſs, will be ſurpriſed at the profound melancholy which this news excited in all hearts. The French love their monarch above all things, and a happy prejudice makes all men naturally incline to the government under which they are born. Let us caſt a veil over this event, the pen drops from the hand of a Frenchman when he attempts to dive into it: what at preſent ſeriouſly occupies and ſhould engroſs the whole attention of the court, is the apprehenſion of that ſlavery with which a new adminiſtration threatens the colonies of Louiſiana. At one time we behold an excluſive company, which, to the prejudice of the nation, is empowered to carry on all the commerce of the remain-

François dans l'Amerique Septentrionale ; on voit enſuite paroître un arret, qui renferme la liberté neceſſaire au commerce dans les bornes les plus étroites, & defend aux François toute liaiſon avec leur propre nation, tout y reſpire les prohibitions & la gêne, partout les commerçans de Louiſiane trouvent des obſtacles à ſurmonter, des difficultés à vaincre & (s'il eſt permis de ſe ſervir de cette expreſſion) des ennemies de la patrie à combattre. En Europe il s'ecoule quelquefois ſix mois avant qu'un armateur parvienne à ſçavoir s'il obtiendra un paſſeport ; on n'eſt pas mieux reçu à St. Domingue lorſqu'il eſt queſtion d'expeditions pour ce fleuve. Mr. le Prince Monbazon, général de l'Iſle, commence à les refuſer. A la Louiſiane dans le centre même de la colonie, où le génie le plus borné voit au premier coup d'oeil combien elle a beſoin d'encouragement & de protection, on n'eſt pas plus favoriſé. Le gouvernement defendit il y a près d'un an, l'importation des négres, ſous pretexte que la concurrence auroit fait tort à un négociant des colonies Angloiſes qui devoit en fournir. Quelle marche effrayante & deſtructive ! C'eſt priver la colonie de l'aliment le plus propre à ſon accroiſſement ; c'eſt couper les racines d'une branche de commerce qui vaut ſeule pour la Louiſiane plus que toutes les autres réunies : accrediter des ſemblables ſiſtemes, c'eſt vouloir convertir en une vaſte forêt des établiſſemens qui ont couté des peines & des ſoins à l'infini. La vigilance de la cour découvrira facilement la cauſe de ces contrariétés, les efforts de ſon zéle la detruiront, & ſon affection pour la colonie la ſauvera du naufrage. La contrainte tient tout dans la langueur & dans la faibleſſe, la liberté au contraire anime tout : perſonne n'ignore aujourd'hui que l'octroi des priveléges excluſifs eſt à proprement parler une eſpece de vampire, qui peu à peu mine le peuple, tarit le numeraire, écraſe l'agriculture, & le commerce ; voye oppreſſive, qui, pour le bonheur de l'humanité, eſt depuis long-tems bannie des colonies Françoiſes.

Par

ing poſſeſſions of the French in North America; we next ſee an edict make its appearance, which confines the liberty neceſſary for carrying on commerce within the narroweſt bounds, and forbids the French to have any connexion with their own nation; prohibitions and conſtraint prevail every where; the merchants of Louiſiana every where meet with obſtacles to ſurmount, difficulties to overcome, and (if it be allowable to make uſe of ſuch an expreſſion) enemies of their country to combat. In Europe there ſometimes paſſes ſix months, before a perſon who fits out a veſſel knows whether he ſhall obtain a paſſport; we have no better ſucceſs at St. Domingo when expeditions to that river are in queſtion: Prince Monbazon, general of the iſland, begins to refuſe them. In Louiſiana, in the very center of the colony, where a perſon of the meaneſt genius ſees at the very firſt glance how much it ſtands in need of encouragement and patronage, we do not meet with more favour. The government almoſt a twelvemonth ago forbid the importation of negroes, upon pretext that the competition would have hurt a merchant belonging to the Engliſh colonies, who was to furniſh them. How terrible and how deſtructive a bargain is this! It is depriving the colony of the food beſt adapted to its nouriſhment; it is cutting up by the roots a branch of commerce, which is of more conſequence to Louiſiana than all the reſt put together: to promote ſyſtems of this ſort is deſiring to convert into a vaſt foreſt eſtabliſhments which have coſt infinite pains and trouble. The vigilance of the court will eaſily diſcover the cauſe of theſe contrarieties; the efforts of its zeal will deſtroy it; and its affection for the colony will ſave it from deſtruction. Conſtraint keeps the affairs of the province in a ſtate of languor and weakneſs; liberty, on the contrary animates all things: nobody is at preſent ignorant that the granting of excluſive privileges may be juſtly conſidered as a ſort of devouring fire, which imperceptibly undermines and conſumes the people, drains the currency, and cruſhes agriculture and commerce; an oppreſſive method, which, for the honour of humanity, has been long ſince baniſhed from the French colonies.

Par quelle fatalité faut-il que la Louiſiane ſeule voie renaître des étincelles d'un feu ſi devorant. Ce ne ſont point ici des terreurs paniques, la cour en demeurera convaincue après qu'elle aura pris lecture de l'arrêt dont on a l'honneur de lui preſenter l'extrait. On ne balance point à dire que l'execution du plan qu'il renferme ruineroit la colonie, en portant à l'agriculture & au commerce les plus dangereuſes atteintes. Les colons de la Louiſiane deſpérent d'avance du ſalut de leur patrie, ſi les privéléges & exemptions, dont elle a joui juſqu'à preſent, ne ſont maintenus ; ſi l'exécution de ce fatal arrêt qui a porté l'allarme & la deſolation dans tous les cœurs n'eſt detournée ; ſi une ordonnance rendue au nom de S. M. C. & publiée à la Nouvelle Orleans le 6 Septembre 1766, dont on joint ici copie, n'eſt annullée comme illegale dans tous ſes points, & contraire à l'accroiſſement de l'agriculture & du commerce : ſi enfin l'on permettoit que les douces loix ſous leſquelles les colons ont vécu juſques à aujourd'hui fuſſent violées. On ne doit jamais oublier le diſcours ſublime qu'un magiſtrat illuſtre addreſſe aux légiſlateurs de la terre (voulez-vous dit-il abroger quelque loy, n'y touchez que d'une main tremblante. Obſervez tant de ſolemnités, apportez tant de précautions que le peuple en conclut naturellement, que les loix ſont bien ſaintes puiſqu'il faut tant de formalités pour les abroger.)

Qu'il eſt douloureux ſans doute pour des François, d'éprouver toutes les rigueurs aux quelles on ſoumet aujourd'hui leur commerce, pendant qu'une nation étrangere, leur ambitieuſe rivale, fait ouvertement & ſans trouble le commerce de la colonie au prejudice de la nation à qui elle appartient, qui a contribué à ſon établiſſement & qui en fait les fraix : on ne craint point qu'on objecte que les François ſeuls, ne ſont point en état de fournir le continent de ſes beſoins ; un prêt de ſept millions que les citoyens de la Louiſiane ont fait au roi, depuis l'année 1758, juſqu'en 1763, ſera

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To what fatality is it owing that Louiſiana alone ſees ſparks of this devouring fire again ſtruck out? Theſe are not panick terrors, and this the court will be convinced of, after peruſing the ſentence, an extract of which we have here the honour of preſenting them with. We ſhall not ſcruple to affirm, that the carrying the plan which it contains into execution, would ruin the colony, by giving agriculture and commerce the moſt dangerous wounds. The inhabitants of Louiſiana deſpair beforehand of the preſervation of their country, if the privileges and exemptions which it has hitherto enjoyed are not continued; if the execution of this fatal decree, which has alarmed all hearts and filled them with conſternation, is not prevented; if an ordonnance publiſhed in the name of his Catholic majeſty at New Orleans on the 6th of September 1766, of which a copy is here ſubjoined, is not annulled, as illegal in all theſe points, and an obſtruction to the increaſe of agriculture and commerce; if in fine the mild laws, under which the inhabitants have lived till now, were ſuffered to be violated. We ſhould never forget the ſublime diſcourſe, which a renowned magiſtrate addreſſes to the legiſlators of the earth; "Are you, ſays he, deſirous of abrogating any law, touch it with a trembling hand. Obſerve ſo many formalities, have recourſe to ſo many enquiries, that the people may naturally conclude that the laws are ſacred, ſince ſo many precautions are required in the abrogation of them."

We will likewiſe, without heſitation, affirm that it is a high mortification for Frenchmen to ſuffer all the rigours to which their commerce is ſubjected, whilſt a foreign nation, their ambitious rival, openly carries on the trade of the colony, to the prejudice of the nation to which it belongs, which contributed to its eſtabliſhment, and which is at the expence of it: we do not fear that it will be objected, that the French alone are not able to ſupply the continent with all the commodities which they want; a loan of ſeven millions, which the inhabitants of Louiſiana have made the king ſince the year 1758 to 1763, will be an eternal monument

un monument éternel de l'étendue du commerce François & de l'attachment des colons pour le ſervice de leur ſouverain.

Que c'eſt au moment qu'une nouvelle Mine vient d'être decouverte, que le cotton dont la culture aſſurée par l'experience, promet au cultivateur la recompenſe de ſes travaux, & à l'armateur le chargement de ſes navires, que la fabrique de l'indigo peut aller de pair avec celle de Saint Domingue, que le commerce des pelleteries eſt pouſſé au plus haut point où il ſoit encore parvenu, c'eſt dans ces heureuſes circonſtances que quelques ennemis de la patrie & créateurs d'un faux ſiſteme, ont ſans doute ſurpris la religion des perſonnes en place, pour ſacrifier les habitans de la Nouvelle Orleans. Que la cour ne renvoye pas à des tems plus éloignés le ſoulagement d'un peuple qui lui eſt cher ; qu'elle faſſe connoître aux perſonnes revétues de l'autorité royale, l'épuiſement ou ſeroit reduite cette province ſi elle n'étoit point deſormais affranchie des prohibitions qui la plongeroit dans une ruine irremédiable ; que penſeroit-on d'un médecin, qui ayant le remede univerſel attendroit une peſte pour s'en ſervir. Que c'eſt à la faveur de la navigation des iſles du vent, & ſous le vent, que les habitans de la Louiſiane trouvent chaque année le debit de quatre-vingt à cent cargaiſons de bois ; qu'on ôte cette branche de commerce, on prive la colonie d'un revenu annuel de cinq cent mille livres au moins, ſomme que le travail ſeul des négres & l'application du maître produit ſans autre miſe dehors. Qu'il vaudroit mieux, ſuivant un fameux auteur, perdre dans un grand royaume cent mille hommes par une faute de politique, que d'en commettre une qui arrête le cours de l'agriculture & du commerce : que l'on ſçait que ceux qui préſentent des projets pour obtenir des privéléges excluſifs, ne manquent jamais de raiſons plauſibles pour les faire paroitre œconomiques & avantageux, ſoit au roi, ſoit au public ; mais l'experience de tous les ſiécles & de tous les lieux démontre evidem-

ment

ment of the extent of the French commerce, and of the attachment of the people of the colonies to their ſovereign's ſervice.

It is juſt at the inſtant that a new mine has been diſcovered, when the culture of cotton, improved by experience, promiſes the planter the recompenſe of his toil, and the perſon who is concerned in fitting out veſſels, cargoes to load them; when the manufacture of indigo may vie with that of St. Dominico; when the fur trade has been carried to the higheſt degree of perfection; it is in theſe happy circumſtances that certain enemies to their country, and broachers of a falſe ſyſtem, have doubtleſs drawn in perſons in public office to ſacrifice the inhabitants of New Orleans. The court ſhould not longer defer the relief of a people which is dear to it; it ſhould make known to thoſe inveſted with royal authority the exhauſted ſtate to which this province would be reduced, if it was not for the time to come freed from the prohibitions, which would plunge it into irremediable ruin. What ſhould we think of a phyſician, who being poſſeſſed of the panacea, or univerſal remedy, ſhould wait for a plague in order to apply it? It is by the trade to the Leeward Iſlands that the inhabitants of Louiſiana find means every year to diſpoſe of fourſcore or a hundred loads of wood; if this branch of trade was to be taken away, the colony would be deprived of an annual income of 300;000 livres at leaſt, a ſum which the work of the negroes and the application of the maſter produces alone, without any foreign aſſiſtance. According to the obſervation of a celebrated author, it would be better to loſe a hundred thouſand men in a great kingdom by an error in politicks, than to be guilty of one which ſhould ſtop the progreſs of agriculture and commerce. It is well known that thoſe who preſent plans to obtain excluſive privileges, are never without plauſible reaſons to make them appear ſaving and advantageous, as well to the king as the public; but the experience of all ages and all countries evidently demonſtrates, that thoſe who ſeek excluſions,

ment que ceux qui ſollicitent des excluſions ont uniquement en vue leur intérêt particulier ; qu'ils ſont moins zelés que les autres pour le bien de l'état & moins bons patriotes. Que l'execution de l'arrêt pour le commerce de la Louiſiane réduiroit les habitans à l'affligeante alternative, ou de perdre leurs recoltes, faute de navires pour en faire l'exportation, ou de changer leurs denrées en fraude avec une nation étrangere, en s'expoſant à ſubir la rigueur de la loi qui prononce la perte des biens & de la liberté contre les contrebandiſtes ; quelle vie ! & quel combat ! Qu'il n'eſt que trop vrai comme on l'a déja obſervé, que le bruit ſeul de la nouvelle ordonnance a cauſé une diminution conſiderable, non ſeulement ſur les objets de luxe, mais auſſi ſur les biens fonds. Une maiſon qui valoit ci-devant vingt mille livres auroit de la peine aujourd'hui d'en produire cinq ; on dira peut-être que la rareté de l'argent contribue auſſi à cette diminution, mais combien ſera plus grande la diſette des eſpéces, lorſque la colonie ſe verra livrée, ſoit à une compagnie excluſive, ſoit à l'ambition de cinq à ſix particuliers qui ne forment qu'une maſſe ? Ce ſera alors un membre qui s'accroitra monſtrueuſement aux depens de la ſubſtance des autres qui deviendront ſecs, & paralitiques ; le corps ſe verra par là menacé d'une deſtruction totale : que ce n'a été qu'en favoriſant ouvertement l'introduction des négres que l'on étoit parvenu à mettre cette colonie dans l'embonpoint, ou l'on l'a vue en 1759. Qu'on dira peut-être, pour diſſiper les allarmes, que l'or & l'argent qui s'eſt repandu ſur la place, au moyen d'une nouvelle adminiſtration, pourra dédommager des pertes de l'agriculture, & du commerce, mais qu'à juger de l'avenir par l'experience du paſſé & du préſent, on trouvera cette reſſource bien foible, perſonne n'ignorant d'ailleurs que, parmi les différens tréſors que la terre renferme dans ſon ſein, l'or & l'argent ne ſont ni les premieres richeſſes, ni les plus deſirables, ces matieres ont reduit dans un état déplorable leurs poſſeſſeurs naturels & les maîtres de ces eſclaves ne ſont pas devenus plus puiſſants. Il ſemble que dès le moment ils ayent perdu tout eſprit d'induſtrie, tout aptitude

have their private intereſt ſolely in view; that they have leſs zeal than others for the proſperity of the ſtate, and have leſs of the ſpirit of patriotiſm. The execution of the decree with regard to the commerce of Louiſiana, would reduce the inhabitants to the ſad alternative of either loſing their harveſts for want of veſſels to export them, or to exchange their commodities in a fraudulent manner with a foreign nation, expoſing themſelves to undergo the rigour of the law, which ordains that thoſe who carry on a contraband trade ſhall loſe both their lives and liberties. What a life is this! what a ſtruggle! It is but too true, as has been already obſerved, that the report of the new ordinance alone has cauſed a conſiderable diminution, not only in the articles of luxury, but likewiſe in landed eſtates. A houſe which was heretofore worth twenty thouſand livres would hardly ſell for five thouſand: ſome will, perhaps, aſſert that the ſcarcity of money contributes likewiſe to this diminution; but how much greater will be the ſcarcity of ſpecie, when the colony ſhall either be delivered up to an excluſive company, or to the ambition of five or ſix individuals, who form but one body? It will reſemble a member grown to a monſtrous bulk at the expence of the ſubſtance of the reſt, which would become withered and paralytic; the body would thereby find itſelf threatened with a total deſtruction: it was only by openly favouring the introduction of negroes that this colony was raiſed to the flouriſhing ſtate which it appeared to have attained in 1759. Perhaps it will be ſaid, to diſpel theſe alarms, that the gold and ſilver which has been made to abound in the place by a new adminiſtration, may indemnify for the loſſes of agriculture and commerce; but to judge of the future by the experience of the paſt and the preſent, that reſource will be found to be very weak, as nobody can be ignorant, that amongſt the various treaſures which the earth contains in its boſom, gold and ſilver are neither the chief riches nor the moſt deſirable; theſe metals have reduced their natural poſſeſſors to a deplorable ſtate, and the maſters of thoſe ſlaves are not thereby become more powerful. They appear from that moment to have loſt all ſpirit and induſtry, all diſpoſition

aptitude au travail, comme un laboureur qui trouveroit un tréſor au milieu de ſon champ abandoneroit pour toujours la charrue ; que d'ailleurs combien d'actes de rigueur n'ont pas été exercées contre des paiſibles citoyens par un étranger, qui, quoique revétu d'un caractére reſpectable, n'a ſatisfait à aucuns des formalités ni à aucuns des devoirs preſcrits par l'acte de ceſſion, leur objet de tranquilité. On citera un ancien capitaine qui a été detenu, par ſes ordres, aux arrêts & ſon navire dans le port pendant l'eſpace de huit à dix mois, pour n'avoir pas ſçu lire dans les decrets de la providence que le bâteau dans lequel il avoit envoyé des paquets qu'on lui avoit confié, feroit naufrage. Une ſemblable tyrannie a été exercée par le dépoſitaire de cette même autorité informe & illegale, envers deux capitaines de la Martinique qui n'avoient commis d'autre crime, que celui de n'avoir pas deviné que le conſeil de la Louiſiane avoit rendu un arrêt qui interdiſoit l'entrée des négres créoliſés des Iſles du Vent & ſous le Vent : quel traitement un ancien citoyen n'a-t-il pas eſſuyé à l'occaſion d'un paquet qui avoit été remis au capitaine de ſon navire, & qui ayant été contrarié par les vents, n'a pû le remettre à la Havanne ? Comment décrira-t-on l'inhumanité avec laquelle ont été ménés les Accadiens ? Ce peuple, le jouet des evénemens, s'eſt déterminé, par un eſprit patriotique, d'abandonner tout ce qu'il pouvoit poſſeder ſur les terres Angloiſes pour venir vivre ſous les heureuſes loix de leur ancien maître : ils ſont arrivés à grand fraix dans cette colonie ; à peine ſont-ils parvenus à deffricher l'emplacement neceſſaire à une pauvre chaumiere que, ſur quelques repreſentations qu'ils ont voulu faire à M. Ulloa, il les a menacé de les chaſſer de la colonie & de les faire vendre comme des eſclaves pour payer les rations que le roi leur avoit donné, en enjoignant aux Allemands de leur refuſer retraite. On laiſſe à décider, ſi cette conduite ne tient point de la barbarie ; mais on croit pouvoir conclure, ſans rien exagérer, qu'elle eſt diametralement oppoſée au ſiſteme politique qui veut que l'on

favoriſe

to work; like a labourer who ſhould find a treaſure in the midſt of his field, and thereupon forſake his plough for ever. Beſides, how many acts of ſeverity have been exerciſed againſt peaceable citizens by a ſtranger; who, though inveſted with a reſpectable character, has obſerved none of the formalities, nor performed any of the duties preſcribed by the act of ceſſion, their object of tranquility. We ſhall mention an old captain of a ſhip who was confined by his orders, and his veſſel detained in the port during eight or ten months, for not having been able to read in the decrees of providence, that the veſſel in which he had diſpatched certain packets entruſted to his care would be caſt away. A ſimilar tyranny was exerciſed by the perſon inveſted with this illegal and unjuſt authority, againſt two captains belonging to Martinico, who had been guilty of no other crime but that of not having gueſſed that the council of Louiſiana had iſſued an edict, which forbid the entrance of the negroes naturalized amongſt the Creolians into the Leeward Iſlands. What ill uſage has an old citizen ſuffered upon account of a pacquet, which had been put into the hands of the captain of one of his ſhips, who, having met with contrary winds, was unable to deliver it at the Havannah? How ſhall we deſcribe the barbarity with which the people of Accadia were treated? This people, the ſport of fortune, were determined, by a patriotic ſpirit, to forſake all they might be poſſeſſed of upon the Engliſh territories, in order to go to live under the happy laws of their ancient maſter: they arrived in this colony at a great expence, and ſcarce had they cleared out a place ſufficient for a poor thatched hut to ſtand upon, when in conſequence of ſome repreſentations, which they happened to make to Mr. Ulloa, he threatened to drive them out of the colony, and have them ſold for ſlaves, to pay the rations which the king had given them, at the ſame time directing the Germans to refuſe them a retreat. The court is left to determine whether this conduct does not border upon barbariſm; but we think we may take upon us to conclude that it is diametrically oppoſite to the political ſyſtem, which directs us to promote every branch

favoriſe toutes les branches de populationes. Ceux qui ſe plaignent, & quel homme aſſez anéanti ſous le joug peut eſſuyer ſans murmure de telles inhumanités? Oui, on l'oſe dire, ceux qui ſe plaignent ſont menacés d'être empriſonnés, exilés à la Baliſes, & envoyés aux mines. Que ſi M. Ulloa a été revétu de quelque autorité, ſon prince ne lui a jamais ordonné de la rendre tirannique, ni de l'exercer avant d'avoir fait connoître ſes titres & ſes pouvoirs. De telles vexations ne ſont pas l'ouvrage des cœurs des rois, elles s'accordent peu avec l'humanité qui fait leur caractére & qui dirige leurs actions: qu'on ne finiroit point ſi on entreprenoit le detail de toutes les humiliations que les François de la Nouvelle Orleans ont éprouvé. Il eſt à deſirer, pour l'honneur de la nation, que ce qui a pû en tranſpirer puiſſe être effacé par les precieux effets de la protection du conſeil ſupérieur que l'on reclame aujourd'hui, & que pour mettre le comble à tant de tribulations on leur predit, qu'avec le tems, on reduira les colons de la Louiſiane à la ſimple nourriture de la tortilla, tandis que l'aliment le plus ſobre ne fera jamais leur peine. Que cependant le conſervation de leurs jours, leurs obligations envers leurs créanciers, leur honneur émanant du patriotiſme & de leur devoir, leurs fortunes enfin ſe trouvant attaquées par le dit décret, les portent à offrir leurs biens & leur ſang pour conſerver à jamais le doux & inviolable titre de citoyen François. Que tout cet expoſé les conduit naturellement à des concluſions auxquelles le zéle de la cour pour le bien public, ſa fermeté pour le maintien des loix dont S. M. T. C. l'a établie depoſitaire, les aſſure qu'elle fera l'accueil le plus favorable. Mais avant d'entrer dans ces concluſions ils doivent rendre homage aux bontés de M. Aubry. Les vœux du public ſe ſont toujours accordés avec le choix du prince à lui donner le commandement en chef de la Louiſiane, ſes vertus lui ont fait décerner le titre d'honnête homme & de gouverneur equitable: il n'a jamais uſé de ſes pouvoirs que pour faire le bien, & tout

branch of population. Thoſe who complain, (and who is there ſo far broke to the yoke as to bear without murmuring ſuch horrid inhumanities?) yes, we dare to declare it, thoſe who complain are threatened with impriſonment, baniſhed to Baliſes, and ſent to the mines. Now, though Mr. Ulloa might have been inveſted with ſome authority, his prince never commanded him to exert it in a tyrannical manner, nor to exerciſe it before he had made known his titles and his powers. Such oppreſſions are not dictated by the hearts of kings; they agree but ill with that humanity which conſtitutes their character and directs their actions. We ſhould hardly ever make an end, were we to enter into a detail of all the mortifications which the French of New Orleans have undergone. It were to be wiſhed for the honour of the nation, that as many of them as have tranſpired might be obliterated by the precious effects of the protection of the ſuperior court, which is now applied for, and that to render ſo much tribulation complete, it ſhould be fortold to them, that in time the inhabitants of Louiſiana will be reduced to live upon turtle alone, whilſt the moſt frugal ſort of food will now be a puniſhment to them. In the mean time, the preſervation of their lives, their obligations to their creditors, their honour, which is the reſult of patriotiſm and of their duty, in fine, their very fortune being attacked by the ſaid decree, reduce them to offer their poſſeſſions and their blood to preſerve for ever the clear and inviolable title of Frenchmen. All that has hitherto been ſaid leads them naturally to make demands or requeſts to which the zeal for the public good, its ſteddineſs in ſupporting the laws which his moſt chriſtian majeſty has made them the depoſitories of, aſſures them that it will give the moſt favourable reception. But before they proceed to theſe demands, they muſt pay their homage to the goodneſs of Monſ. Aubry. The wiſhes of the public have always correſponded with the choice of the prince in aſſigning him the chief command over the province of Louiſiana; his virtues have cauſed the titles of honeſt man and equitable governor to be adjudged him; he never made uſe of his power but to do good, and all unjuſt

tout ce qui a été injuſte lui a toujours paru impoſſible. Qu'ils ne craignent point qu'on ait à leur reprocher que la reconnoiſſance les ait fait exagérer en quelques choſes : negliger des louanges meritées, c'eſt voler une dette legitime, & concluent enfin en ſuppliant le cour,

1. D'obtenir que les privéléges & exemptions dont la colonie a joui, depuis la retroceſſion que la compagnie en fit à S. M. T. C. ſoient maintenus ſans qu'aucune innovation puiſſe en arrêter le cours, & troubler la ſureté des citoyens.

2. Qu'il ſoit accordé des paſſeports, congés & permiſſions emanant de meſſieurs le gouverneur & commiſſaire de S. M. T. C. aux capitaines de navires qui s'expedieront de cette colonie pour tel port de France & de l'Amerique que ce puiſſe être.

3. Que tout bâtiment expédié de tel port de France & de l'Amerique que ce puiſſe être, aura l'entrée libre du fleuve; ſoit qu'il vienne directement pour cette colonie, ou qu'il y aborde de Relâche, afin que cela s'eſt toujours pratiqué.

4. Que la liberté du commerce avec toutes les nations qui ſont ſous la domination de S. M. T. C. ſoit accordé à tous les citoyens, en conformité des ordres du roi à feu M. D'Abbadie, enrégiſtrés au greffe de cette ville, & conformément auſſi à la lettre de monſeigneur le duc de Choiſeuil au même M. D'Abbadie, en datte du 9 Fevrier 1766.

5. Que M. Ulloa ſoit declaré infractaire & uſurpateur, en pluſieurs points, de l'autorité dévolue au gouvernement & au conſeil, puiſque toutes les loix, ordonnances & coutumes, veulent que cette autorité ne ſoit exercée par aucun officier, qu'après qu'il aura rempli toutes les formalités preſcrites, & c'eſt à quoi M. Ulloa

unjuſt deeds have to him ever appeared impoſſible. They are not afraid of being reproached that gratitude has made them exaggerate in any particular: to neglect deſerved praiſes is to keep back a lawful debt, and they conclude, in fine, by intreating the court,

1. To obtain that the privileges and exemptions, which the colony has enjoyed ſince the ceſſion, which the company made to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, ſhould be ſupported without any innovations being ſuffered to interrupt their courſe and diſturb the ſecurity and quiet enjoyment of the citizens.

2. That paſſports and permiſſions ſhould be granted from the governors and commiſſioners of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, to ſuch captains of veſſels as ſhall ſet ſail from this colony to any ports of France or America whatever.

3. That any ſhip which ſails from any port of France or America whatever, ſhall have free entrance into the river, whether it ſail directly for the colony, or only put into it occaſionally, as has been always obſerved.

4. That the freedom of trade with the ſeveral nations under the government of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, ſhall be granted to all the citizens, in conformity to the king's orders to the late Mr. D'Abbadie, regiſtered at the ſecretary's office of this city, and likewiſe in conformity to the letter of his grace the duke de Choiſeuil, addreſſed to the ſame Mr. D'Abbadie, and dated the 9th of February 1766.

5. That Mr. Ulloa ſhall be declared to have, in many points, infringed and uſurped the authority which had devolved to the government and the council, becauſe all the laws, ordonances, and cuſtoms, direct, that the ſaid authority ſhall not be exerciſed by any officer, till he ſhall have performed all the formalities pre-

 ſcribed,

Ulloa n'a point ſatisfait; pourquoi, il doit être declaré infractaire & uſurpateur, 1. Pour avoir fait arborer pavillon Eſpagnol en pluſieurs endroits de la colonie, ſans avoir préalablement montré & fait enrégiſtrer au conſeil, les titres & pouvoirs dont il a pû être munis & que les citoyens aſſemblés ayent pû en être informés. 2. Pour avoir, de ſon chef & autorité privée, exigé que des capitaines de navires fuſſent détenus & leurs batimens dans le port ſans aucun fondement & pour avoir faire mettre aux arrêts à bord d'une fregate Eſpagnole des citoyens François. 3. Pour avoir fait tenir des conſeils, dans la maiſon du ſieur Detrehan, par des officiers Eſpagnols, dans leſquels il a été rendu des arrêts concernant les citoyens de la Louiſiane; & demandent, qu'en vertu de tous ces griefs & tant d'autres de notoriété publique & auſſi pour la tranquilité de tous les citoyens qui reclament la protection du conſeil, ils ſoient affranchis deſormais de la crainte d'une autorité tiranique & des conditions portées par le dit décret, au moyen de l'éloignement de M. Ulloa, auquel il doit être enjoint de s'embarquer, dans le premier batiment qui partira, pour ſe rendre où bon lui ſemblera, hors de la dependance de cette province.

6. Qu'il ſoit ordonné à tous les officiers Eſpagnols, qui ſont dans cette ville ou repandus dans les poſtes dépendans de la colonie, d'en ſortir pour ſe rendre également là ou ils jugeront à propos, hors de la dependence de la dite province, & qu'enfin il plaiſe à la cour, ordonner que l'arrêt à intervenir ſera lû, publié & affiché dans tous les lieux & endroits accoutumés de cette ville & copies collationées envoyées dans tous les poſtes de la dite colonie. Les dites repréſentations ſont ſignées par cinq cent trente ſix perſonnes, habitans, négotians, marchands, & notables. Vû auſſi la copie du décret publié par ordre de S. M. C. non ſignée, ni dattée, autre copie d'une ordonnance

ſcribed; and this condition Mr. Ulloa has not complied with. He ſhould therefore be declared to have infringed and uſurped the authority of the government; 1. For having cauſed Spaniſh colours to be ſet up in ſeveral parts of the colony, without having previouſly cauſed to be regiſtered in the council books, the titles and powers which he might have received, and of which the aſſembly of the citizens might have been informed. 2. For having of his own accord, and by his own private authority, inſiſted upon captains of veſſels being detained with their ſhips in the port without any cauſe, and for having ordered ſubjects of France to be confined aboard a Spaniſh frigate. 3. For having cauſed councils to be held in the houſe of Mr. Detrehan by Spaniſh officers, in which decrees were iſſued concerning the inhabitants of Louiſiana. And they requeſt, that on account of theſe grievances, and many others publickly known, and likewiſe for the tranquility of all the citizens who apply for the patronage of the council, they ſhall for the time to come be freed from the fear of a tyrannical authority, and exempted from obſerving the conditions enjoined by the ſaid decree, by means of the diſmiſſion of Mr. Ulloa, who ſhould be ordered to embark aboard the firſt veſſel which ſhall ſet ſail, in order to depart, whenever he thinks proper, out of the countries depending upon this province.

6. That orders ſhall be given to all the Spaniſh officers who are in this city, or ſcattered up and down at the poſts depending upon the colony, to quit them, in order to repair likewiſe, whenever they ſhall think proper, out of the dependencies of the province; and, finally, that the court would be pleaſed to order that the decree ſhall be read, publiſhed, and ſet up, in all the uſual places of this city, and collated copies ſent to all the poſts of the ſaid colony. The ſaid repreſentations ſigned by five hundred and thirty-ſix inhabitants, eminent merchants and dealers. On account, likewiſe, of the copy of the decree, publiſhed by orders of his catholic majeſty, neither ſigned nor dated, and of another copy of an

ordonnance publiée en cette ville par ordre de M. Ulloa, du 6 Septembre 1766, l'arrêt interlocutoire rendu le jour d'hier ſur le requiſitoire de M. le procureur general du roi, portant & ordonnant avant dire droit, que les dites repréſentations ſeroient miſes entre les mains de meſſieurs, M^tre^ Uchet, écuyer, ſieur de Knion, & Piot Delaunay, conſeillers titulaires, pour être par eux examinées & enſuite communiquées meſſieurs les gens du roi, pour être requis & ordonné ce qu'il appartiendra de droit ; le tout vû, M. le procureur general du roi s'eſt levé & remis, a dit,

" Meſſieurs,

" Le premier point le plus intéreſſant à examiner, eſt la de-
" marche de tous les habitans & negocians unis, qui dans leur
" ſervitude préparée, & leurs malheurs démontrés, s'addreſſent à
" votre tribunal & vous demandent juſtice des infractions faites à
" l'acte ſolemnel de ceſſion de cette colonie : votre tribunal eſt-il
" compétant ? Sont-ils fondés ? Je vais prouver l'étendue de l'au-
" torité royale déférée au conſeil ſupérieur. Les parlemens & les
" conſeils ſuperieurs ſont les dépoſitaires des loix à l'abri deſquels
" les peuples vivent heureux ; ſont protecteurs nés par état des
" vertueux citoyens, & ſont établis pour faire exécuter les ordon-
" nances, édits, & déclarations, des rois après leur enrégiſtrement :
" telle a été la volonté de Louis le bien-aimé, notre ſeigneur roi,
" & au nom duquel tous vos arrêts juſqu'à ce jour, ont été rendus
" & mis à exécution. L'acte de ceſſion, ſeul titre dont le commiſ-
" ſaire de S. M. C. puiſſe ſe prevaloir pour réclamer autorité &
" propriété fut addreſſé à défunt M. D'Abbadie, avec ordre de le
" faire enrégiſtrer au conſeil ſupérieur de la colonie, afin que les
" différens états de la dite colonie ſoient informés de ſon contenu &
" qu'ils puiſſent y avoir recours au beſoin, la préſente n'étant à au-

" tres

ordonance publiſhed in this city, by order of Mr. Ulloa, of the 6th of September 1766, the interlocutory decree iſſued yeſterday, upon the requiſition of the king's attorney-general, orders and directs, that before the deciſion of the court, the ſaid repreſentations ſhall be put into the hands of Meſſrs. Attre Uchet, eſquire, lord of Knion, and Piot Delaunay, titular counſellors, to be by them examined, and afterwards communicated to the king's council; that what the law directs may be enacted concerning them. All theſe particulars being taken into conſideration, the king's attorney-general ſtood up and ſaid,

" Gentlemen,

" The firſt and moſt intereſting point to be examined is the ſtep " taken by all the inhabitants and merchants in concert, who, " being threatened with ſlavery, and labouring under grievances " which have been enumerated, addreſs your tribunal, and re- " quire juſtice for the violations of the ſolemn act of the ceſſion of " that colony. Is your's a competent tribunal? Are theſe com- " plaints juſt? I ſhall now ſhew the extent of the royal authority " veſted in the ſuperior council. The parliaments and ſuperior " council are the depoſitaries of the laws, under the protection of " which the people live happily; they are, by their rank and " dignity the patrons of virtuous citizens, and they are eſtabliſhed " for the purpoſe of executing the ordonances, edicts, and decla- " rations of kings after they are regiſtered. Such was the will " and pleaſure of Lewis the well-beloved, our ſovereign lord, in " whoſe name all your decrees to the preſent day have been iſſued " out and carried into execution. The act of ceſſion, the only " title of which his catholic majeſty's commiſſary can avail him- " ſelf, to make his demands *auctoritate & proprietate*, was ad- " dreſſed to the late Mr. D'Abbadie, with orders to cauſe it to be " regiſtered in the ſuperior council of the colony, to the end that " the different claſſes of the ſaid colony may be informed of its " contents, and may be enabled to have recourſe to it upon occaſion;

" this

" tres fins. La lettre de M. Ulloa dattée de la Havanne du 10
" Juillet 1765, qui caractériſe ſes deſirs de rendre à meſſieurs les
" habitans tous les ſervices qu'ils pourront ſouhaiter, vous fût ad-
" dreſſée, meſſieurs, avec priere de faire participer aux dits habitans
" qu'en cela il ne feroit que remplir ſon devoir & flater ſon in-
" clination. La dite lettre fût, par votre arrêt de delibéré, publiée,
" affichée, & enregiſtrée comme un garant que les habitans auroient
" de leur bonheur & de leur tranquilité. Une autre lettre du mois
" d' Octobre dernier écrite à M. Aubry, conſtate que la juſtice ſe
" rende toujours dans la colonie au nom du roi Louis le bien-aimé.
" Il réſulte du puiſſant point d'appui de l'acte ſolemnel de ceſſion
" & des autres acceſſoires, que meſſieurs les habitans & negocians
" ſont bien fondés à vous preſenter leurs très humbles repréſenta-
" tions, & vous, meſſieurs, très autoriſés à prononcer. Exami-
" nons actuellement avec ſcrupule l'acte de ceſſion, & la lettre de
" M. Ulloa ecrite au conſeil ſupérieur. Je crois devoir rapporter
" mot à mot l'extrait de la lettre du roi, qui fut publiée, affichée,
" & enregiſtrée.

" Ce même acte ſolemnel de ceſſion qui donne titre de propriété
" à S. M. C. ſtatue pour les colons des priviléges anciens & con-
" nus, & la parole royale de notre ſeigneur roi, en promet & en
" fait eſpérer de nouveaux dont les malheurs de la guerre l'ont privé
" de faire jouir ſes ſujets, les priviléges anciens étant ſuprimés par l'au-
" torité du commiſſaire de S. M. C. la propriété devient caduque ;
" l'acte de ceſſion par pure, ſimple & bonne amitié s'eſt fait avec ſes
" reſerves qui confirment les priviléges & libertés, & promet aux ha-
" bitans une vie tranquile, à l'abri de leurs loix canoniques & civiles.
" La propriété reſultant d'une ceſſion par don gratuit, ne peut ſe repéter
" & être obtenu qu'en ſatisfaiſant pendant toute la propriété aux reſerves

" this inſtrument being calculated for no other purpoſe. The " letter of Mr. Ulloa, dated from the Havannah July 10, 1765, " which intimates his diſpoſition to do the inhabitants all the ſer- " vices they can deſire, was addreſſed to you, gentlemen, with a " requeſt to intimate to the ſaid inhabitants, that therein he would " only diſcharge his duty and gratify his own inclinations. The " ſaid letter was, by your decree, publiſhed, ſet up, and regiſtered, " as a pledge to the inhabitants of happineſs and tranquility. " Another letter, of the month of October laſt, written to Mr. Aubry, " certifies that juſtice ſhould be always adminiſtered in the co- " lony in the name of Louis the well-beloved. It reſults from " the ſolid baſis of the ſolemn act of ceſſion and other acceſſories, " that the inhabitants and merchants have good reaſon to preſent " you with their moſt humble remonſtrances; and you, gentle- " men, fully authorized to pronounce thereupon. Let us now " accurately examine the act of ceſſion and the letter written by " Mr. Ulloa to the ſuperior council. I think it likewiſe incum- " bent on me to cite, word for word, the extract of the king's " letter, which was publiſhed, ſet up, and regiſtered.

" This very ſolemn act of ceſſion, which gives the title of pro- " perty to his catholic majeſty, eſtabliſhes for the inhabitants of " the colony ancient and known privileges, and the royal word of " our ſovereign lord the king promiſes, and gives us ground to " hope for, others, which the calamities of war have prevented " him from making his ſubjects enjoy. The antient privileges " having been ſuppreſſed by the authority of his catholic majeſty's " commiſſioner, property becomes precarious; the act of ceſſion, " through pure good will and friendſhip, was made with theſe " reſerves, which confirm their liberties and privileges, and pro- " miſes the inhabitants a life of tranquility, under the protection " and ſhelter of their canon and civil laws. The property which " reſults from a ceſſion by free gift cannot be claimed and ob- " tained, except by complying with the reſerves contained in the

" ſaid

" contenues dans le dit acte de ceſſion. Notre ſeigneur roi, eſpere
" & ſe promet en conſequence de l'amitié & de l'affection de
" S. M. C. qu'elle voudra bien donner des ordres à ſon gouverneur
" & à tous autres officiers employés à ſon ſervice dans cette colonie
" pour l'avantage & la tranquilité des habitans de cette même co-
" lonie, & qu'ils ſoient jugés & leurs biens régis ſuivant les loix,
" formes & uſages de la colonie. Les titres de M. Ulloa peuvent
" ils faire prevaloir des ordonnances & des ordres infractaires au
" reſpect dû à l'acte ſolemnel de ceſſion. Les priviléges anciens,
" la tranquilité des citoyens François, les loix, formes & uſages
" de la colonie ſont ſacrés par une promeſſe royale, par un enré-
" giſtrement ordonné au conſeil ſupérieur, & par une publication
" notoire & preſcrite. Le recours à l'acte de ceſſion par les dif-
" férens états de la colonie, eſt l'unique fin de la lettre de notre
" ſeigneur roi ; rien de mieux fondé & de plus legal que le droit
" de repréſentations, acquis par autorité royale aux habitans &
" citoyens de la colonie.

" Paſſons à l'examen de la lettre de M. Ulloa, écrite au conſeil
" ſupérieur de la Nouvelle Orleans en datte du 10 Juillet 1765.
" Je rapporterai mot à mot l'article concernant M. le conſeil ſu-
" perieur & meſſieurs les habitans.

" *Je me flate d'avance qu'elle pourra me proportionner des occaſions*
" *favorables pour vous témoigner les deſirs qu'ils m'aſſiſtent de pouvoir*
" *vous rendre tous les ſervices, que vous & meſſieurs les habitans*
" *pourront ſouhaiter, de quoi je vous prie de les aſſurer de ma part, &*
" *qu'en cela ne ferai que remplir mes devoirs & flater mon inclination.*

" M. Ulloa a prouvé par là les ordres qu'il avoit reçu de S. M. C.
" conformes à l'acte ſolemnel de ceſſion, & il annonçoit un ſenti-

" ſaid act of ceſſion, during the time of poſſeſſing that property. " Our ſovereign lord the king hopes, and promiſes himſelf, that " in conſequence of the friendſhip and affection ſhewn by his " catholic majeſty, that he will be pleaſed to give orders to his " governor, and to all other officers employed in his ſervice in that " colony, for the advantage and tranquility of the inhabitants of " the colony, and that they ſhould be ruled and their fortunes " and eſtates managed according to the laws, forms, and cuſtoms " of the colony. Can Mr. Ulloa's titles give weight to ordinances " and orders which violate the reſpect due to the ſolemn act of " ceſſion? The antient privileges, the tranquility of the ſubjects " of France, the laws, forms, and cuſtoms of the colony, are " rendered ſacred by a royal promiſe, by a regiſtering ordered by " the ſuperior council, and by a publication univerſally known. " The recourſe had to the act of ceſſion by the different claſſes of " the colony is the ſole aim of the letter of our ſovereign lord the " king; nothing can be better grounded or more legal than the " right of remonſtrating, which the inhabitants and citizens of " the colony have acquired by royal authority.

" Let us proceed to an examination of the letter of Mr. Ulloa, " written to the ſuperior council of New Orleans, dated the 10th " of July, 1765. (I ſhall here cite, word for word, the article " relative to the ſuperior council and the inhabitants.)

" *I flatter myſelf beforehand, that it will be able to procure me* " *favourable opportunities to teſtify to you my deſires of having it in my* " *power to do you all the ſervice that you and the inhabitants can wiſh,* " *which I beg you would aſſure them of from me, and let them know* " *that in acting thus I ſhall at once diſcharge my duty and gratify my* " *inclinations.*"

" Mr. Ulloa proved thereby the orders which he had received " from his catholic majeſty, conformable to the ſolemn act of

" ment indiſpenſable à tout gouverneur qui veut bien ſervir ſon
" roi dans les colonies. Specialement ſans habitans point de com-
" merce, ſans commerce peu d'habitans. Le rapport des deux
" induſtries à la maſſe de l'état, étaye les trônes. La liberté & la
" concurrence ſont meres nourrices des deux états ; l'excluſion, le
" tiran & le maratre. Sans liberté peu de vertus. Du deſpotiſme
" nait la puſillanimité & l'abime des vices. L'homme n'eſt re-
" connu pêcher vis-à-vis de Dieu, que parce qu'il conſerve le
" libre arbitre, où eſt la liberté des habitans & des négoçians ? Les
" marques de protection & de bienveillance ſont converties en
" deſpotiſme : une ſeule autorité veut tout anéantir. Tous les
" états ſans diſtinction ne doivent plus, ſans courir riſque d'être
" taxés de crime, que trembler, être aſſervis & ramper : le conſeil
" ſupérieur, boulevard de la tranquilité des citoyens vertueux, ne
" s'eſt ſoutenu que par la probité, le deſintéreſſement des ma-
" giſtrats, & la confiance réunie des citoyens en eux. Sans priſe
" de poſſeſſion, ſans l'enrégiſtrement indiſpenſable au conſeil ſupé-
" rieur des titres & patentes ſuivant les loix, formes, & uſages de
" la colonie & de la préſentation de l'acte de ceſſion, M. Ulloa a
" fait juger par un preſident, trois conſeillers, & un greffier, nom-
" més d'office des faits de la compétence du conſeil ſupérieur &
" concernant des citoyens François. Vingt fois les mecontente-
" mens, & deſagremens ſembloient vous forcer à vous demettre de
" vos places, mais vous avez toujours regardé annexé à votre état
" de conſeiller du roi très-chretien, d'adoucir & de calmer les
" murmures des citoyens vexés. L'amour de la patrie, & la
" juſtice due à tout citoyen qui la reclame ont nourri votre zéle.
" Elle s'eſt rendue avec la même exactitude, vous n'avez jamais
" voulu faire vos répréſentations aux infractions faites à l'acte de
" ceſſion, vous avez toujours craint d'autoriſer une maſſe de colo-

" ceſſion, and he diſcovered a ſentiment indiſpenſable in every " governor who is deſirous of ſerving his king in the colonies: " eſpecially as without inhabitants there can be no commerce, and " without commerce few inhabitants. The proportion of induſtry " to the bulk of the ſtate ſupports and props the throne. Liberty " and emulation are the nurſing mothers of the ſtate; monopoly " or excluſion, the tyrant and the ſtep-mother. Without liberty " there are but few virtues. From deſpotiſm ſprings puſillanimity " and the abyſs of vices. Man is conſidered as ſinning before God " only becauſe he retains his free-will, upon which depends the " liberty of inhabitants and merchants. Inſtances of protection " and benevolence are converted into deſpotiſm: a ſingle authority " would abſorb and annihilate every thing. All ranks, without " diſtinction, can no longer, without running the riſk of being " taxed with guilt, do any thing elſe but tremble, bow their necks " to the yoke, and lick the duſt. The ſuperior council, bulwark " of the tranquility of virtuous citizens, has ſupported itſelf only " by the probity, the diſintereſtedneſs of merchants, and confidence " of the united citizens in that tribunal. Without taking poſſeſ- " ſion, without regiſtering, as was neceſſary, in the ſuperior coun- " cil, titles and patents according to the laws, forms, and cuſtoms " of the colony, and to the requiſition of the act of ceſſion, Mr. " Ulloa has cauſed a preſident, three counſellors, and a ſecretary, " nominated for the purpoſe, to take cognizance of facts which " ſhould properly be determined by the ſuperior council, and in " which French citizens were concerned. Often did diſcontents " and diſguſts ſeem to force you to reſign your places, but you " have always conſidered it as a duty of your ſtation of counſellors " to the moſt chriſtian king, to alleviate and calm the murmurs " of the oppreſſed citizens. The love of your country, and the " juſtice due to every citizen who applies for it, have nouriſhed " your zeal. It has been always rendered with the ſame exact- " neſs; you never thought proper to make your repreſentations " upon the act of ceſſion; you declined to authoriſe a numerous

" nie mécontante & ménacée des plus grands malheurs, vous avez " préféré la tranquilité publique : mais la maſſe des habitans & " negocians vous demandent juſtice.

" Paſſons à l'examen exact & ſcrupuleux des griefs, plaintes, & " imputations contenues dans les repréſentations des habitans & " des negocians. Quels triſtes & notoires tableaux vous expoſent " les dites repréſentations ! les fleaux de la derniere guerre, une " ſuſpenſion juſqu'à ce jour de payment de ſept millions de papier " du roi mis ſur la place pour les beſoins du ſervice & reçus avec " confiance par les negocians & habitans avoient reculé l'aiſance & " les facilités de la circulation ; mais l'activité & l'induſtrie du cul- " tivateur & negocians François avoient preſque ſurmonté les " echecs. Les coins les plus reculés des poſſeſſions ſauvages avoi- " ent été découverts, le commerce des pelleteries étoit pouſſé à ſon " plus haut point, la nouvelle culture du cotton adoptée, jointe " aux indigots & tabacs, aſſuroient des chargemens aux armateurs. " Le commiſſaire de S. M. C. avoit annoncé & promis dix ans de " liberté de commerce, ce tems ſuffiſoit pour tout citoyen François " attaché à ſon ſeigneur roi. Les tabacs de cette colonie prohibés " en Eſpagne, où ceux de la Havanne ſont les ſeuls permis : les " bois (branche conſiderable des revenus des habitans) inutiles à " l'Eſpagne fournis dans cet objet par ſes poſſeſſions, & enfin " l'indigo inférieur à celui de Guatimala qui en fournit plus qu'il " n'en faut aux manufactures d'Eſpagne, rendoient ruineux les " retours des denrées des habitans en Eſpagne & livroient les dits " habitans à la plus grande miſere. Le commiſſaire de S. M. C. " avoit conſtaté publiquement l'impoſſibilité du commerce de ce " pays avec l'Eſpagne : toute protection, faveur, encouragement, " étoient journellement promis à l'habitant, le titre de protecteur

" fut

" diſcontented colony, threatened with the moſt dreadful cala-
" mities; you preferred public tranquility: but the bulk of the
" inhabitants and merchants apply to you for juſtice.

" Let us now proceed to an accurate and ſcrupulous examina-
" tion of the grievances, complaints, and imputations contained
" in the repreſentations of the inhabitants and merchants. What
" ſad and diſmal pictures do the ſaid repreſentations bring before
" your eyes! The ſcourges of the laſt war, a ſuſpenſion to this
" day of the payment of ſeven millions of paper-money of the
" king's, laid down to ſupply the calls of the ſervice, and received
" with confidence by the merchants and inhabitants, had ob-
" ſtructed the eaſe and facility of the circulation, but the activity
" and induſtry of the planter and French merchants had almoſt
" got the better of all difficulties. The moſt remote corners of
" the poſſeſſions of the ſavages had been diſcovered, the fur trade
" had been carried to its higheſt perfection, the new culture of
" cotton adopted, theſe, joined to the indigoes and tobaccos, ſecured
" cargoes to thoſe who were concerned in fitting out ſhips. His
" catholic majeſty's commiſſioner had promiſed a free trade for
" ten years, that period being ſufficient for every ſubject of France
" attached to his ſovereign the king. The tobaccos of this co-
" lony prohibited in Spain, or thoſe of the Havannah, are the
" only ones allowed: the woods (a conſiderable branch of the
" income of the inhabitants) being uſeleſs to Spain, furniſhed in
" this article by its plantations, and the indigo being inferior to
" that of Guatimala, which ſupplies more than requiſite to the
" manufactures of Spain, theſe circumſtances ruined the returns
" of the commodities of the inhabitants of this colony to Spain,
" and delivered up the ſaid inhabitants a prey to the moſt dread-
" ful miſery. His catholic majeſty's commiſſioner had publickly
" proved the impoſſibility of this country's trading with Spain:
" all patronage, favour, encouragement, were every day promiſed
" the inhabitant; the title of protector was decreed to Mr. Ulloa;

" fut décerné à M. Ulloa, la bonne foi & la confiance nouriſſoient " l'eſpérance & l'activité neceſſaire au cultivateur ; mais par quelle " fatalité ruinante & imperceptible a-t-on vu une maiſon de vingt " mille livres vendue ſix mille livres, & les habitations tout-à-coup " perdre ſur leur valeur intrinſique la moitié & les deux tiers ? Les " fortunes s'écroulent, & le numeraire eſt plus rare que jamais ; " la confiance eſt perdue, & le decouragement eſt general, tout " retentit du cri lugubre de la miſere, & le precieux titre de ci- " toyen François ſe voit eclipſer, & le fatal décret conçernant le " commerce de la Louiſiane porte le dernier coup de maſſue à " l'anéantiſſement total de la colonie. Le pavillon Eſpagnol eſt " arboré à la Baliſe & aux Illinois, & autres lieux, aucuns titres, " aucunes patentes, n'ont été préſentées au conſeil ſupérieur : le " tems fuit, les délais fixés pour la liberté de l'émigration ſe trou- " veront expirés, la force tiraniſera, il faudra vivre aſſervis, chargés " de chaines ou abandonner précipitamment des établiſſemens " tranſportés du grand-pere au petit-fils. Tous les habitans & " negocians vous demandent leur ſeigneur roi, Louis le bien- " aimé ! leur fortunes & leur ſang ſont offert pour vivre & mourir " François.

" Paſſons au réſumé des points de charge, griefs & imputations. " M. Ulloa a fait juger par des conſeillers par lui nommés d'office " des faits de la compétence du conſeil ſupérieur concernant les " ſeuls citoyens François : les ſentences ont été ſignifiées & miſes " à l'exécution contre les ſieurs Cadis & Leblanc ; M. Ulloa a " ſoutenu les négres mecontens de leurs maitres, M. le commiſ- " ſaire de S. M. C. n'a preſenté au conſeil ſupérieur aucun de ſes " titres, pouvoirs, & proviſions, n'a point exhibé la copie de l'acte " de ceſſion pour en demander acte, a ſans les dites formalités in- " diſpenſables arboré pavillon Eſpagnol à la Baliſe, aux Illinois & " autres lieux ; a, ſans autorité legale, puni & chatié & vexé des

citoyens

" ſincerity and confidence nouriſhed hope and the activity neceſ-
" ſary to the planter: but by what undermining and imperceptible
" fatality have we ſeen a houſe worth twenty thouſand livres ſold
" for ſix thouſand, and habitations all on a ſudden loſe one half
" and two-thirds of their intrinſic value? Fortunes waſte away,
" and ſpecie is more ſcarce than ever; confidence is loſt, and the
" diſcouragement becomes general; the plaintive cries of diſtreſs
" are heard on every ſide, the precious name of ſubject of France
" is ſeen to be eclipſed, and the fatal decree concerning the com-
" merce of Louiſiana gives the laſt fatal ſtroke to the colony,
" that muſt totally annihilate it. The Spaniſh ſtandard is ſet up
" at Baliſe and at the Illinois, and other places: no titles, no pa-
" tents were preſented to the ſuperior council: time flies apace,
" the delays fixed for the liberty of emigration will ſoon expire,
" force will tyranniſe, we muſt live in ſlavery and loaded with
" chains, or precipitately forſake eſtabliſhments delivered down
" from the grandfather to the grandſon. All the inhabitants and
" merchants call upon you, their ſovereign lord the king, Lewis
" the well-beloved; their treaſures and their blood are offered,
" they are reſolved to live and die French.

" Let us proceed to reſume the points of the charge, grievances
" and imputations. Mr. Ulloa has cauſed counſellors, named by
" himſelf, to take cognizance of facts, which ſhould by right be
" determined by the ſuperior council, relative to the ſubjects of
" France alone: the ſentences have been ſignified and put in exe-
" cution againſt meſſieurs Cadis and Leblanc; Mr. Ulloa has ſup-
" ported the negroes, diſſatisfied with their maſters; the commiſſary
" of his catholic majeſty has preſented to the ſuperior council
" none of his titles, powers, and proviſions; has not exhibited a
" copy of the act of ceſſion, in order to have it regiſtered; has,
" without the ſaid indiſpenſable formalities, ſet up the Spaniſh
" ſtandard at Baliſe, at the Illinois, and other places; has, with-
" out legal authority, puniſhed and oppreſſed ſubjects of France;

" has

" citoyens François ; en a même envoyé aux arrêts dans la fre-
" gate de S. M. C. a uſurpé, de ſa ſeule autorité, le quart des
" communes des habitans de la ville, ſe l'eſt approprié & l'a fait
" entourer pour y faire paroitre ſes chevaux.

" Le tout murement examiné, je requiers pour le roi, que les
" ſentences rendues par les conſeillers nommés d'office & miſes à
" exécution contre les ſieurs Cadis & Leblanc, citoyens François,
" ſoient declarés attentatoires à l'autorité de notre ſeigneur roi, &
" deſtructives du reſpect dû à ſa juſtice ſouveraine ſéantes en ſon
" conſeil ſupérieur, en ce qu'elles violent les loix, formes, & uſages
" de la colonie, confirmés & guarantis par l'acte ſolemnel de ceſ-
" ſion ; que M. Ulloa ſoit declaré infractaire à nos loix, formes,
" uſages, & aux ordres de S. M. C. par l'acte de ceſſion & certifié
" par ſa lettre dattée de la Havanne du dix Juillet 1765 ; qu'il ſoit
" déclaré uſurpateur d'une autorité illegale en faiſant chatier &
" vexer des citoyens François ſans avoir au préalable ſatisfait aux
" loix, formes, & uſages de faire enrégiſtrer au conſeil ſupérieur
" ſes pouvoirs titres & proviſions & la copie de l'acte de ceſſion
" pour en demander acte ; qu'il ſoit enjoint à M. Ulloa commiſ-
" ſaire de S. M. C. de ſortir de la colonie dans la fregate ſur la-
" quelle il eſt venu ſous le plus court délai pour éviter des accidens
" ou de nouvelles rumeurs ; & d'aller rendre compte de ſa conduite
" à S. M. C. & quant aux differens poſtes établis par mon dit ſieur
" Ulloa qu'il ſoit dit qu'il laiſſera les ordres par écrit qu'il jugera
" convenable ; qu'il ſoit declaré reſponſable de tous les evénemens
" qu'il auroit pû prevoir ; que meſſieurs Aubry & Foucault ſoient
" priés & même ſommés, au nom de notre ſeigneur roi, de conti-
" nuer à commander & regir la colonie comme ils faiſoient ci-
" devant, que tous bâtimens ſortant de cette colonie ne puiſſent

être

" has even confined ſome in the frigate of his catholic majeſty;
" has by his authority alone uſurped the fourth part of the com-
" mon of the inhabitants of the city; has appropriated it to him-
" ſelf, and has cauſed it to be ſurrounded, that his horſes might
" graze there.

" Having maturely weighed all this, I require, in behalf of the
" king, that the ſentences pronounced by the counſellors nomi-
" nated for the purpoſe, and put in execution againſt meſſieurs Cadi
" and Le Blanc, ſubjects of France, be declared encroachments
" upon the authority of our ſovereign lord the king, and deſtruc-
" tive of the reſpect due to his ſupreme juſtice, ſeated in his ſu-
" perior council, inaſmuch as they violate the laws, forms, and
" cuſtoms of the colony, confirmed and guaranteed by the ſolemn
" act of ceſſion; that Mr. Ulloa be declared to have violated our
" laws, forms, cuſtoms, and the orders of his catholic majeſty in
" the act of ceſſion, which is confirmed by his letter from the
" Havannah, dated the 20th of July 1765; that he be declared
" uſurper of illegal authority, by cauſing ſubjects of France
" to be puniſhed and oppreſſed, without having previouſly com-
" plied with the laws, forms, and cuſtoms, in cauſing his powers,
" titles, and proviſions to be regiſtered in the ſuperior council,
" with the copy of the act of ceſſion; that it be enjoined Mr.
" Ulloa, commiſſioner of his catholic majeſty, to leave the
" colony in the frigate in which he came, without delay, to
" avoid accidents and new clamours, and to go and give an ac-
" count of his conduct to his catholic majeſty: and with regard to
" the different poſts eſtabliſhed by the ſaid Mr. Ulloa, he is deſired
" to leave in writing ſuch orders, as he ſhall think neceſſary; that
" he be declared reſponſible for all the events which he might
" have foreſeen; that Meſſrs. Aubry and Foucault be requeſted,
" and even ſummoned, in the name of our ſovereign lord the
" king, to continue to command and govern the colony as they
" did heretofore; that ſuch ſhips as ſail from this colony ſhall not

" être expediés que ſous des paſſeports ſignés de M. Foucault fai-
" ſant fonctions d'ordonnateur ; que la priſe de poſſeſſion ne
" pourra être propoſée ni tentée par aucuns moyens ſans de nou-
" veaux ordres de S. M. T. C. que meſſieurs Loyola, Gayarro, &
" Navarro ſeront declarés être garants de leur ſignature dans les
" bons qu'il ſont mis ſur la place s'ils ne ſont apparoir des ordres
" de S. M. C. qui les ait autoriſés à mettre les dits Bons & papiers
" ſur la place ; qu'il leur ſoit accordé les delais néceſſaires pour
" donner l'ordre qu'ils jugeront convenable à leur comptabilité.
" Que les habitans & negocians ſoient autoriſés à choiſir des dé-
" putés pour aller porter leurs ſuppliques au ſeigneur roi ; qu'il ſoit
" fixé & arrêté, que le conſeil ſupérieur addreſſera des repréſenta-
" tions à notre ſeigneur roi, que l'arrêt à intervenir ſoit lû, publié,
" affiché, & enrégiſtré ; que copies collationnées en ſoient envoyées
" à monſeigneur le duc de Praſlin avec une lettre du conſeil ſupé-
" rieur & auſſi dans les poſtes de la colonie pour y être lues, pub-
" liées, affichées, & enrégiſtrées."

Oui le rapport de meſſieurs, M^tre^ Uchet écuyer, ſieur de Knion, & Piot Delaunay, conſeillers commiſſaires en cette partie, le tout murement examiné & la matiere miſe en délibération, le procureur-général oui & retiré :

Le conſeil compoſé de treize membres dont ſix nommés d'office, ayant chacun donné ſon avis par écrit, diſant droit ſur les dites repréſentations, a declaré & déclare les ſentences rendues par des conſeillers nommés d'office par M. Ulloa, & niſes à execution contre les ſieurs Cadis & Leblanc citoyens François, attentatoires à l'autorité de notre ſeigneur roi & deſtructives du reſpect du à ſa juſtice ſouveraine ſéante en ſon conſeil ſupérieur ; l'a declaré uſur-

pateur

" be diſpatched without paſſports ſigned by Mr. Foucault, in-
" veſted with the office of regulator, and diſcharging the duties
" enjoined by it; that the taking poſſeſſion can neither be pro-
" poſed nor attempted by any means, without new orders being
" iſſued by his moſt chriſtian majeſty; that Meſſrs. Loyala, Gayarro,
" and Navarro, ſhall be declared guarantees of their ſignature for
" the goods and paper-circulation which they have cauſed to be ex-
" poſed in the market-place, if they do not produce the orders of
" his catholic majeſty, empowering them to expoſe the ſaid goods
" and paper-circulation in the public market-place; that a ſufficient
" time be granted them to take the proper meaſures to be ready to
" give an account of their proceedings. That the inhabitants and
" merchants be empowered to elect deputies tô carry their petitions
" and ſupplications to our ſovereign lord the king; that it be fixed
" and determined, that the ſuperior council ſhall make repreſenta-
" tions to our ſovereign lord the king; that the decree which
" is iſſued ſhall be read, ſet up, publiſhed, and regiſtered; that
" confronted copies be ſent to his grace the duke of Praſlin, with
" a letter of the ſuperior council, and likewiſe to the poſts of the
" colony, to be there read, ſet up, publiſhed, and regiſtered."

The report being heard of Meſſrs. Attre Uchet, eſq. le ſieur de Knion, and Piot Delaunay, counſellors and commiſſioners appointed for this purpoſe, the whole being duly weighed and the ſubject deliberated upon, the attorney-general having been heard and having retired:

The council compoſed of thirteen members, of which ſix are nominated to officiate, having each of them given their opinion in writing, pronouncing upon the ſaid repreſentations, has declared and declares the ſentences pronounced by the counſellors nominated by Mr. Ulloa, and carried into execution againſt Meſſrs. Cadis and Le Blanc, ſubjects of France, to be encroachments upon the authority of our ſovereign lord the king, and deſtructive of the reſpect due to his ſupreme juſtice, veſted in his ſuperior council;

pateur d'une autorité illegale en faiſant chatier & vexer des citoyens François, ſans avoir au préalable ſatisfait aux loix & formes, n'ayant fait apparoir ni enrégiſtrer ſes pouvoirs, titres & proviſions; & au préjudice des priviléges à eux conſervés par le dit acte de ceſſion: & pour prévenir quelque violence du peuple, & éviter quelque tumulte dangereux, le conſeil par ſa prudence ordinaire, ſe trouve obligé d'enjoindre, comme de fait il enjoint à M. Ulloa de ſortir de la colonie ſous trois jours pour tout délai, ſoit dans la fregate de S. M. C. ſur laquelle il eſt venu, ou dans tel autre bâtiment qui lui paroîtra convenable, & d'aller rendre compte de ſa conduite à S. M. C. a ordonné & ordonne que concernant les poſtes par lui établis dans le haut du fleuve, il laiſſera tels ordres qu'il jugera convenables, le rendant reſponſable de tous les evénemens qu'il auroit pû prévoir. A prié & prie meſſieurs Aubry & Foucault & les ſomme même au nom de notre ſeigneur roi, de continuer à commander & regir, comme ils faiſoient ci-devant la colonie: defend expreſſement à tous armateurs & capitaines d'expédier aucun bâtiment ſous autre paſſeport que celui de M. Foucault, faiſant fonction de l'ordonnateur: a ordonné & ordonne que la priſe de poſſeſſion pour S. M. C. ne pourra être propoſée & tentée, par aucun moyens, ſans des nouveaux ordres de S. M. T. C. qu'en conſequence M. Ulloa s'embarquera ſous le dit délai de trois jours dans tel bâtiment qu'il jugera à propos avec tous les matelots qui ſont à la Baliſe. Pour ce qui concerne meſſieurs Loyola, Gayarro, & Navarro, le conſeil a ordonné qu'ils pourront reſter pour ſuivre leur comptabilité juſques à de nouveaux ordres de S. M. T. C. en par eux demeurer garans de leurs ſignatures dans les bons qu'ils ont mis ſur la place, à moins qu'ils ne faſſent apparoir des ordres de S. M. C. A autoriſé & autoriſe les habitans & négocians, à choiſir telles

has declared and declares him an uſurper of illegal authority, in cauſing ſubjects of France to be puniſhed and oppreſſed without having previouſly complied with the laws and forms, having neither produced his powers, titles, and proviſions, nor cauſed them to be regiſtered, and that in prejudice of the privileges inſured to them by the ſaid act of ceſſion: and to prevent any violence of the populace, and avoid any dangerous tumult, the council, in its uſual prudence, finds itſelf obliged to enjoin, as in fact it enjoins, Mr. Ulloa to quit the colony, allowing him only the ſpace of three days, either in the frigate of his catholic majeſty, in which he came, or in whatever veſſel he ſhall think proper, and go and give an account of his conduct to his catholic majeſty: it has likewiſe ordained and ordains, that with regard to the poſts eſtabliſhed by him at the upper part of the river, he ſhall leave ſuch orders as he judges expedient, making him at the ſame time reſponſible for all the events which he might have foreſeen. It has likewiſe requeſted and requeſts Meſſrs. Aubry and Foucault, and even cites them in the name of our ſovereign lord the king, to continue to command and govern the colony as they did heretofore: at the ſame time expreſsly forbids all thoſe who fit out veſſels, and all captains of ſhips, to diſpatch any veſſel with any other paſſport but that of Mr. Foucault, who is to do the office of regulator: has likewiſe ordered and orders, that the taking poſſeſſion for his catholic majeſty can neither be propoſed nor attempted by any means without new orders from his moſt chriſtian majeſty: that in conſequence Mr. Ulloa ſhall embark in the ſpace of three days in whatever ſhip he ſhall think proper. With regard to what relates to Meſſrs. Loyola, Gayarro, and Navarro, the counſel has decreed that they may ſtay and follow their reſpective buſineſs, till they have received new orders from the moſt chriſtian king, and remain ſureties of their ſignatures for the goods and paper-circulation which they expoſed to public view in the market-place, except they produce the orders of his catholic majeſty. Has likewiſe authoriſed and authoriſes the

telles perſonnes qu'ils croiront convenable pour aller porter leur ſupplique au ſeigneur roi, & a arrêté que pareillement le conſeil ſupérieur addreſſera des repréſentations à notre dit ſeigneur roi ; ordonne que le préſent arrêt ſera imprimé, lû, publié & affiché & enregiſtré en tous les lieux & poſtes de cette colonie, & que copie en ſera envoyée à Mgr. le duc de Praſlin, miniſtre de la marine.

Mandons, à tous nos huiſſiers ou ſergents ſur ce requis, faire pour l'exécution du préſent tous actes & exploits neceſſaires, de ce faire donnons pouvoir. Et enjoignons au ſubſtitut du procureur géneral du roi, tenir le main à l'exécution, & d'en avertir la cour en ſon tems.

Donné, en la chambre de conſeil, le vingt neuf Octobre 1768.

Par le conſeil,

GARIC, greffier en chef.

Je proteſte contre l'arrêt du conſeil, qui renvoye monſieur Don Antonio de Ulloa de cette colonie ; leurs majeſtés trés chrétienne & catholique ſeront offenſés du traitement que l'on fait éprouver à une perſonne de ſon caractere, & malgré le peu de forces qui j'ai ſous mes ordres, je m'oppoſerois de tout mon pouvoir à ſon départ, ſi je ne craignois que ſa vie ne fût expoſée, auſſi bien que celle de tous les Eſpagnols qui ſe trouvent ici.

Délibéré à la chambre de conſeil, ce 29 Octobre 1768.

Signé

AUBRY.

Colla-

inhabitants and merchants to chuſe whatever perſons they think proper to go with their petition to our ſovereign lord the king, and has decreed that the ſuperior council ſhall in like manner make repreſentations to our ſaid ſovereign lord the king: orders that the preſent decree ſhall be printed, read, ſet up, publiſhed, and regiſtered in all places and poſts of this colony, and that a copy of it ſhall be ſent to his grace the duke of Praſlin, miniſter of the marine.

We order all our bailiffs and ſerjeants to perform all the acts and ceremonies requiſite for carrying the preſent decree into execution; we at the ſame time empower them to do ſo. We alſo enjoin the ſubſtitute of the king's attorney-general to ſuperintend the execution, and to apprize the court at a proper time.

Given at the council-chamber on the 29th of October, 1768.

By the council,

GARIC, principal ſecretary.

I proteſt againſt the decree of the council, which diſmiſſes don Antonio de Ulloa from this colony; their moſt chriſtian and catholic majeſties will be offended at this uſage of a perſon of his character; and tho' I have ſo ſmall a force ſubject to my orders, I ſhould with all my might oppoſe his departure, were I not apprehenſive of endangering his life, as well as the lives of all the Spaniards in this country.

Deliberated at the council-chamber this 29th of October 1768.

Signed

AUBRY.

Con-

Collationé ſur l'original demeuré és minutes de greffe, par nous greffier en chef ſouſſigné, à la Nouvelle Orléans le deux Novembre 1768.

GARIC, greffier en chef.

EXTRAIT

Compared with the original, left amongſt the minutes of the ſecretary's office, by me, the firſt ſecretary, whoſe name is hereto ſigned, at New Orleans, 2d of November 1768.

GARIC, principal ſecretary.

EXTRACT

EXTRAIT des REGISTRES du CONSEIL SUPERIEUR de la PROVINCE de la LOUISIANE, du 31 Octobre 1768.

Vu par le conſeil ſupérieur, la proteſtation faite par M. Aubi chevalier de l'ordre royal & militaire de St. Louis, commandant pour ſa majeſté très-chretienne de la ditte province, à l'arrêt de la cour rendu le 29 du preſent mois, contre M. Ulloa commiſſaire de S. M. C. icelle lue l'audience tenante ; oui ſur ce, le procureur-général du roi en ſes concluſions ; la matiere miſe en deliberations : le conſeil, ſans condamner les motifs qui ont donné lieu à M. Aubry, de proteſter contre l'arrêt de la cour du 29 du préſent, a declaré & declare la ditte proteſtation nulle, & comme non avenue ; ordonne que le dit arrêt ſortira ſon plein & entier effet, ce qui ſera exécuté en toute ſa forme & teneur.

Donné & delibéré en la chambre de conſeil, le 31 Octobre 1768.

Par le conſeil,

GARIC, greffier en chef.

FIN.

EXTRACT of the REGISTERS of the SUPERIOR COUNCIL of the PROVINCE of LOUISIANA, 31ſt October 1768.

The ſuperior council having taken into conſideration the proteſt made by Mr. Aubry, knight of the royal and military order of St. Louis, governor of ſaid province for his moſt chriſtian majeſty, againſt the decree of court delivered on the 29th of the preſent month againſt Mr. Ulloa, commiſſioner of his catholic majeſty; and this proteſt being read whilſt the audience was holding, and the king's attorney-general being heard thereupon, and the matter thoroughly debated; the council, without condemning the motives which have cauſed Mr. Aubry to proteſt againſt the decree of court of the 29th of the preſent month, has declared and declares the ſaid proteſt null and void, and orders that the ſaid decree ſhall have its entire effect, which ſhall be executed in its full force and tenor.

Given and reſolved at the council-chamber, October 31, 1768.

By the council,

GARIC, principal ſecretary.

FINIS.

Notes To Pittman Text

Preface

p. v. The scarcity of reliable accounts in print in either language has been commented on in the introduction.

Wills Hill, Earl of Hillsborough, became secretary of state for the colonies on 20 January 1768 and served until 31 August 1772 (Valentine, *The British Establishment*, I, 453-454).

p. vi. George Johnstone, appointed Governor of West Florida in 1763, arrived at Mobile in December 1764 and returned to England at the close of 1766 (Taylor to Gage, Pensacola, 13 December 1766). For a brief account of his turbulent career see *Dictionary of National Biography*, X, 963-965. There is no adequate account of his two years in West Florida. Consult Howard, "Governor Johnstone in West Florida"; some documents are to be found in *Miss. Prov. Arch.: Eng. Dom.* and Padgett, "Commissions, Orders and Instructions Issued to George Johnstone, British Governor of West Florida, 1763-1767." See also n. 65 in the introduction above. No trace has been found of a book by Johnstone on West Florida.

For West Florida at this time consult; Carter, "The Beginnings of British West Florida"; Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition*, 106-117; Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 181-214; Howard, *The Development of British West Florida*, 6-41; Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783*, 1-82; Rowland, *Miss. Prov. Arch.: Eng. Dom.* General Haldimand's impressions of West Florida towns, forts, and health conditions in 1767 can be found summarized in the calendar of his correspondence published in the *Report of Canadian Archives* for 1884, 1885, 1886.

Of the River Missisippi

p. 1. The Mississippi was simply the "Big River."

The earliest description of the river from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf is that of André Penicault who came to Louisiana with Iberville in 1699, ascended the river with Pierre-Charles LeSueur in 1701, and left Louisiana in 1721. His manuscript was used by Charlevoix and others. It was translated in part by B.W. French in New Orleans (1869), was published in full in French by Pierre Margry (1883), and was translated in full for the first time and annotated by McWilliams in 1951 (*Fleur de Lys and Calumet*).

p. 2. There was no "French post on the River Illinois" at this time. Pittman should have written "in the Illinois Country"—presumably he had in mind Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, etc.

Pittman's statement on the length of the river above the Falls was mere hearsay. The distance from New Orleans to the Illinois is reasonably accurate. On his maps Pittman commonly used the French league (two and one-half miles) rather than the English (three miles).

The St. Pierre River today is the Minnesota; the Moingona, the Des Moines.

The extent of the Missouri River Indian trade is not known. £8000 (200,000 livres) worth of goods at this time sounds excessive. Profits may well have been 200%—provided the furs arrived safely and in good condition at New Orleans.

p. 3. Diron d'Artaguiette visited Fort St. Pierre des Yazous three leagues up the Yazoo River in February 1723 (Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 51). In 1729 it was destroyed by the Yazoo Indians (*Miss. Prov. Arch.: French Dom.*, I, 99). For Dumont de Montigny's sketch of the concession of M. Le Blanc and associates, see his *Memoires historiques*, II, 85; the massacre is reported in II, 160-164.

p. 4. For contemporary Natchitoches see Bridges and DeVille, "Natchitoches in 1766." The name of the Spanish fort is variously written *Adaes*, *Adayes*, *Adais*.

p.5. For the Balize see notes to p. 8.

Of the Posts and Settlements on the Missisippi

p. 8. The discovery of the entrance to the Mississippi (the east pass) by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville in 1699 has been detailed by McWilliams in "Iberville at the Birdfoot Subdelta—Final Discovery of the Mississippi River." A post was established there as early as 1701. The French Balise of which Pittman saw the remnants had been built in 1734 (see Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*).

Ulloa's Balize (1767), established on the Isla Real Católica de San Carlos, was abandoned in 1770 (Kinnaird, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, I, 23, 25-26, 144-145, 148-152, 161-162).

p. 9. For the origin of the name *Détour des Anglais* see introduction, n. 1.

New Orleans

p. 10. For the history of the French Louisiana the best sources are (1) Marcel Giraud, *Histoire de la Louisiane Francaise* [1698-1763] - of a projected six volumes the first three covering the years 1698-1720 have been published, (2) Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française, (3)* O'Neill, *Church and State in French Colonial Louisiana.*

For the plan and development of New Orleans in its French and Spanish days, as recorded in many sketches and plans, consult Wilson, *The Vieux Carré New Orleans*, 1-55. Among other publications under his name in my list of *Sources Consulted* see particularly *The Basilica of St. Louis* and *Baroness Pontalba's Buildings.*

p. 11. The Company of the West, later the Company of the Indies, had ceased in 1731 to be the proprietors of Louisiana. Its last resident agent was Jean Baptiste Prevost who died in 1769; his house and its contents are described in his succession papers (Dart, "Inventory of the Estate of Sieur Jean Baptiste Prevost."

The Ursuline Convent (the only extent pre-Spanish public building in New Orleans) has recently been restored by Samuel Wilson Jr. and Richard Koch.

p. 12. A census of New Orleans and neighboring posts made by Foucault in 1766 gave the population of the capital as 1893 men able to bear arms, 1044 women, and 2615 children, a total of 5552 whites (Villiers du Terrage, 231).

For the fortifications see Wilson, "Colonial Fortifications and Military Architecture in the Mississippi Valley," and his paper on "Ignace Francois Broutin."

For the *Conseil Superieur* see Hardy, "The Superior Council in Colonial Louisiana."

pp. 13-15. Pittman refers here to the *bons de caisse*—in effect paper money issued by colonial officials without authority from the home government and not acceptable to supply houses in France. *Bons* were also issued privately—their value depending solely on the credit reputation of the issuer.

The sad state of finance in Louisiana during the last years of French domination and the power struggles of Governor Louis Billouart de Kerlérec and Intendant or

Ordonnateur Vincent-Pierre-Gaspard de Rochemore are discussed at length by Villiers du Terrage, pp. 88-150. Rochemore was recalled to France at the request of Kerlérec in 1762 and died there in 1763. The governor was not recalled: he had earlier requested retirement. On 29 June Jean-Jacques-Blaise d'Abbadie arrived to manage the colony under the title of director-general until transfer could be completed.

p. 15 The affair of the two English "flags of truce" ships (*parlementaires*) had occurred in 1759. It has been thoroughly investigated by Nasatir and Mills in *Commerce and Contraband in New Orleans during the French and Indian War* where the pertinent documents are published. Under custom of the day enemy trading ships during the war were permitted to enter ports under flags of truce with the ostensible purpose of returning prisoners of war and were tacitly allowed to dispose of their cargo. Rochemore wanted to seize such vessels as prizes of war. Kerlérec, in desperate need, wanted to encourage more trading ships to come to New Orleans.

p. 16. D'Abbadie died 4 February 1765. Charles-Philippe Aubry as the highest-ranking official took over the functions of governor and in effect was governor until the arrival of Alexander O'Reilly in August 1769. Antonio de Ulloa landed at New Orleans 5 August 1766 but soon withdrew to the Balise. For a detailed history of this interim period of Louisiana history see Villiers du Terrage, pp. 127-282, and for the "Republic" pp. 283-301.

The expedition under Captain Francisco Riu and Guy du Fossat, engineer, to build forts at the mouth of the Missouri, left New Orleans in the late spring of 1767. The general instructions and the secret orders for it have been printed in Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, I, 1-28. Louis St. Ange, the last French officer in the Illinois Country, on transferring Fort Chartres to British Captain Thomas Stirling 10 October 1765, withdrew on orders from New Orleans to St. Louis, where he continued in command as a French officer in the Western Illinois until the oath of allegiance to Spain was administered 19 November 1769. He was retained as commandant by the Spanish until the arrival the following year of Pedro Piernas, the first lieutenant governor of the Western Illinois or Upper Louisiana.

For Ulloa see Whitaker, "Antonio de Ulloa," and Moore, "Antonio de Ulloa: A Profile of the First Spanish Governor of Louisiana." Professor Moore is completing a biography of him.

For "Mons. de Sacier" read "Le Sassier." He and a Monsieur Saintelette were sent by the Council setting up the Republic to carry the *arret* of 28 October 1768 to various chambers of commerce in the French ports and to the Minister of the Colonies (Villiers du Terrage, 203, 269-170). They were refused an official audience with the Minister but were allowed a private meeting. There is no evidence that either deputy was imprisoned.

p. 17 According to Aubry (Villiers du Terrage, 295), on the 18th of August O'Reilly landed 3,000 troops at New Orleans.

For *La Friniere*; read *La Frenière*; for *De Mazant*, Mazan.

p. 18. On 17 June 1768 James Campbell, Pittman's old rival (who had been engineer at Fort Chartres after Pittman's departure for Florida [Gage to Campbell, 29 May 1768]), now retired from the army after twenty-seven years of service but employed as barrack master at Fort Chartres, sought permission of General Gage for leave to go to England "to fetch Mrs Campbell a Lady I have Not Seen for fourteen years." By 27 June 1769 he had appointed George Butricke to act in his absence (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XVI, 567). He must have set out early in the summer, for he was present at O'Reilly's entrance into the city. Pittman obviously used the copy of Campbell's letter to Gage which the latter enclosed to Hillsborough 7 October 1769.

According to Aubry the Spanish vessels reached the city on the night of the 17th. The fullest account of the days that followed is that of Villiers du Terrage, 295-301.

p. 21. Six were condemned to death on 24 October 1769: Nicolas Chauvin de La Frenière, Jean Baptiste de Noyan, Pierre Marquis, Pierre Caresse, Joseph Milhet, Joseph Roué de Villeré. Villeré died during the trial, the others were shot on 25 October. Joseph Petit, Balthazar de Mazan, Jean Milhet, Hardi de Boisblanc, Julien-Jérome Doucet, and Poupet ainé were given prison terms up to ten years; they were all released, however, from Moro Castle, Havana, within about a

year. Foucault was sent back to France for trial and remained in the Bastille for some years (Villiers du Terrage, 301-320).

For *Villeroy*, read *Villeré*.

p. 22. For this whole episode consult particularly Boulle, "French Reactions to the Louisiana Revolution of 1768."

After his fashion the Chevalier de Champigny quoted this paragraph from Pittman: "Répétons ici que le Chevallier Pittman a écrit sur cet affreux événément. 'On ne peut, 'dit-il, 'jetter les yeux sur cette sanglante tragédie, qu'avec horreur & exécration. Une semblable trahison employée à la destruction d'un ennemi, ou á la punition de quelques coupables, est faite pour deshonorer une nation, & pour avilir le terme de justice.' " *(La Louisiane Ensanglantée,* 113). Pittman (p. 22) did not use the word "bloody."

In fairness it is to be remembered that the Louisianians had rejected Ulloa and that the impositions of O'Reilly came as a result of open rebellion.

For *Cannes, Brulé*, read *Cannes Brulées*. These places are all located on Pittman's map of the Mississippi.

For the German settlements of Louisiana (La Côte des Allemands) see Deiler, *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana.*

p. 25 On February 1765 Foucault informed the Minister that 193 Acadians had just arrived from Saint Domingue to be resettled in Louisiana (Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives*, II, 1497). Several hundred more came during the spring months. Surrey listed no correspondence relating to Acadians in 1763 or 1764.

River Ibbeville

p. 26 After O'Reilly in September 1769 ordered all foreigners out of Louisiana, John Fitzpatrick, for one, moved to Manchac, beside Fort Bute, as a promising location for trading: "I am now to Advise you," he wrote from Mobile to Arthur Strother on 17 November 1769, "of my Determination to Settle at Manchac or Iberville up the Mississippi which I hope will Answer my Expectation in the Sails [*sic*] of Sundry Goods Suitable to the french and Spaniards at point Coupee &c as no Credit can be given them, and in all Likelyhood Goods hence forward will be very Scarce in

Orleans, they will always find Means to pay for What they want in Deer Skins Indigo Cotton Tobaco Rice & Cash" (ms. Letterbook). He continued in business at Manchac at least until 1785. Hutchins commented on this place as a commercial site (*Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and WestFlorida*, 42-44).

Description of Massiac, Part of the River Amit, and the River Ibbeville

p. 27. This description is essentially the same as Pittman's report to Gage attached to his letter of 29 March 1765—a few minor stylistic revisions were made.

p. 31. The remainder of this chapter is almost entirely additional to Pittman's report; for presentation in the introduction consult index.

Campbell set out from New Orleans on his first attempt to clear the Iberville in August 1764, not early in the year.

Pointe Coupée

p. 35. For this district and its name see Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg's two articles: "The Pointe Coupée Cut-off in Historical Writings" and "The Names 'False River' and 'Pointe Coupée': an Inquiry in Historical Geography." The Spanish were to call it *Punta Cortada*.

p. 34. Pittman's population figures seem too great unless he was including backcountry settlers. A census for Pointe coupée in 1766 counted 536 whites plus 674 slaves; a census for 1770 reported only one militia company of 84 men. Captain Harry Gordon (9 October 1766) gave it 110 families (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 304). For other glimpses see Morgan's journal for 14-15 December 1766 and Jennings' journal for 6 July 1768 (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 446; XVI, 338-339).

Tonicas

p. 35 For the Tunicas see Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 197-199, and *passim*. Kerlérec (1758) gave them sixty warriors living fifty-two leagues above New Orleans (Arch. Nat., Paris, C 13, 40: 135—copy in Miss. Dept. Archives and History).

Pelousas

P. 36 Pittman is confused and confusing about this interior district which he is describing from hearsay,

not from personal observation. One could have reached the little Opelousas River from the Mississippi by way of the Atchafalaya, but the heart of the district was the present-day St. Landry Parish. The Attacapas district lay to the south in present St. Martin's and Lafayette Parishes. The most elaborate study of this area is Winston DeVille's "The Opelousas Post, from the Earliest Settlement to 1803" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1963).

For Louis Gérard Pellerin's troubles see DeVille, 64-47. In his "Observations on the Manifesto Presented by the Inhabitants of Louisiana to the Superior Council" (1769) Ulloa had a good deal to say about the offenses of this man whom he identified as a French *officier reformé* and a brother-in-law of La Frenière. (Arch. Nat., Paris, C 13 A, 47: 64-222—copy in Lib. Cong. Mss. Div.).

Natches

p. 37. For Pittman's original report to Gage see introduction, pp. LII-LIV; for his later report to Haldimand, pp. LXVI-LXVII. The story of the early disasters is related in Green, "Governor Perier's Expedition against the Natchez Indians." Contemporary glimpses of the place are to be seen in Gordon's journal for 6 October 1766, Morgan's for 11-12 December 1766, and Jennings' for 5 July 1768 (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 302-303, 444-445; XVI, 338).

Post of Arkansas

p. 40 For the colonial history of this ancient post see Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: French Domination" and "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," Gordon (October, 1766) gave it only a parenthesis in his journal: "(the few Banditti at Arkansas don't deserve the name of Settlement)"; George Morgan (3 December 1766) allowed it "about 10 Familes in the neighbourhood of the Indian village which has near 200 Families" (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 303, 442). For Pittman's original report to Gage see introduction pp. LIV-LV.

Cascasquias

p. 42. For Pittman's original report to Gage see introduction, pp. 73-76. For the history of the town consult Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime*. For contemporary impressions, of the Illinois Country

settlements see among others the journals of Gordon, Jennings, and Morgan (*Ill. Hist. Coll.*, XI). Thomas Hutchins was with Gordon in 1766 but his descriptions of these villages belong to the 1770s. His plan of the district was made in 1771.

The Jesuit establishment was bought on 6 November 1763 by Jean Baptiste Beauvais for 40,100 livres paid in cash (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 125-132).

Gordon reported eighty houses; Morgan seventy; a census in 1767 gave the population as 600 whites and 303 Negroes (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 297, 438, 469).

For annotations of a census of 1752 see Belting, 86-98.

La Praire de Rochés

p. 44. A census for Gage in 1767 reported twenty-five families at Prairie du Rocher (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 469). For annotations of the 1752 census see Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime*, 113-116. The captain of militia was Jean Baptiste Barbeau.

Fort Chartres

p. 45. The most recent study of the building of Fort Chartres (or Fort de Chartres as the French called it) is that of Saucier and Seineke, "François Saucier, Engineeer of Fort de Chartres, Illinois." The transfer on 10 October 1765 is covered in detail in Carter, "Documents relating to the Occupation of the Illinois Country by the British." Pittman's original report is printed above, pp. LV-LVI. There is much in the Gage Papers at the Clements Library and the Haldimand Papers in the British Museum about the encroachment of the river on the fort. An annotated checklist of the residents of the village of Sainte Anne de Fort Chartres in 1752 is in Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime*, 98-108. The census of 1767 gave it three families (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 469).

Saint Philippe

p. 47. For an annotated checklist of people living in St. Philippe in 1752 see Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime*, 108-113. The census of 1767 gave it three families (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 469). Pittman's original report is on p. LIX of the introduction above. St. Philippe was sometimes referred to as "le petit village."

Kaoquias

p. 48. Pittman's original report is on pp. LIX-LX above. For the early history see McDermott (ed.), *Old Cahokia: a Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of its History* and Peterson, "Notes on Old Cahokia." It dates from 1699. The mission buildings and ground were bought 5 November 1763 by J. B. LaGrange for 12,500 livres and twelve black slaves by LaGrange and Etienne Laisard for 20,000 livres. (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, X, 45-49). Gordon reported at Cahokia "43 Families of French who live well"; the Gage census of 1767 gave the number of families as sixty (*Ibid.*, XI, 299, 469). Belting annotated the names in the 1752 census (*Kaskaskia under the French Regime*, 116-119).

Saint Louis, or Paincourt

p. 49. Pittman's original report is printed on p. LX above. St. Louis was founded 15 February 1764 by Pierre de Laclede Liguest. For this company see McDermott, "The Exclusive Trading Privilege of Maxent, Laclede and Company," Also: McDermott, "Myths and Realities concerning the Founding of St. Louis" and "Auguste Chouteau: First Citizen of Upper Louisiana." For the early town consult Peterson, *Colonial St. Louis: Building a Creole Capital."* Gordon in 1766 noted that it "has already fifty Families supported chiefly from hence, & seems to flourish very quick" (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 299). Captain Louis St. Ange was commandant at St. Louis from 1765 to 1770.

Sainte Genevieuve, or Misere

p. 50. Pittman's original report is on pp. LVIII-LIX above. The date of the founding of this town is in dispute; 1732 has been suggested. For its history see Yealy, *Sainte Genevieve The Story of Missouri's Oldest Settlement;* Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve;* Peterson, "Early Ste. Genevieve and its Architecture," and Porterfield, "Ste. Genevieve, Missouri." For Francois Vallé and his family see Dalton, "Notes on the Genealogy of the Vallé Family."

Of the Country of the Illinois

p. 51. Though his account was not published until 1778 Thomas Hutchins was in and out of the Illinois Country several times between 1765 and 1771 (*A*

Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, 106-116).

Of the Government of the Country of Illinois When Belonging to the French

p. 53. Perhaps it was the summary remarks in this section that led Solon J. Buck to say Pittman's book was "not [an] entirely reliable source of information about conditions in the Illinois" (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 18). Pittman was acquainted with many of the Kaskaskia French but his tour of duty in the Illinois was only fifteen months and he had no opportunity to observe the government of the district "when belonging to the French." His statements are no more than impressions. He offers no evidence to substantiate them. The matter is worth examination but that would require extensive space. See introduction pp. XXVIII-XXIX for the specific allegations against D'Abbadie.

Of the Inhabitants

p. 55. Of particular interest is the very compact and heavily annotated paper by J. M. Carriere: "Life and Customs in the French Villages of the Old Illinois Country."

For *Fort St. Vincents*, read *Vincennes*. In the 1767 census it was credited with 222 whites, 168 "strangers," and 27 slaves (*Ill. Hist. Coll.*, XI, 469). St. Ange was in command there until he succeeded Neyon de Villiers at Fort Chartres.

L'Arret de la Cour Supérieure de la Province

p. 57. On p. xxvi of the appendix to *La Louisiane Ensanglantée* (his note 23) Champigny mentioned a "Requete des Habitans au Conseil superieur, & l'Arret qui ce suit. Ces deux piéces se trouvent a la fin du Livre de M. Pittman." This statement is confusing. What Pittman published was the *Arret* of the Superior Council passed on 29 October 1768 which denied the authority of Ulloa to act as governor of Louisiana and ordered his immediate departure (Arch. Nat., Paris, C 13, 48: 233) to which he added Aubry's protest of the same date (*Ibid.*, C 13, 48:97) and Garic's official attestation of 2 November. About this same time (but date uncertain) the leaders of the revolution published a *Mémoire des Habitans et Négocians de la Louisiane, sur l'Evenement du 29 Octobre 1768* which informed

"the Universe" of their many charges against Ulloa (to this the Spanish governor presently replied with a 376-page paper of *Observations sur les points contenus dans le Mémoire ou Manifeste supposé avoir été présenté par les habitans de la Louisiane au Conseil de la Nouvelle Orléans ainsi que dans l'Avis du Procureur Général et la Décision du Conseil*). Pittman did not include this *Mémoire* but Champigny did publish it.

For the history of the revolution, with summaries of these documents and analysis of the charges, see Villiers du Terrage, 252-282.

p. 76 (and p. 90) For *Mtre Uchet, écuyer, sieur de Knion* and on p. 77(and p. 91) for *Messrs. Attre Uchet, esquire, lord of Knion*, read *Maitre Huchet de Kernion* [*Jean François Huchet de Kernion*]. Hutchet was a lawyer, hence the title.

p. 90. For *Loyala, Gayarro*, read *Loyola, Gayarré.*

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